HISTORY

ENGLAND

TROM THE

INVASION OF JULIUS CÆSAR

TO

The REVOLUTICN in 1683.

In EIGHT VOLUMES, illustrated with Plates.

By DAVID/HUME, Efq.

A NEW EDITION, with the Author's last.

Corrections and Improvements.

To which is prefixed,
jort ACCOUNT of his LIFE, written by Himself.

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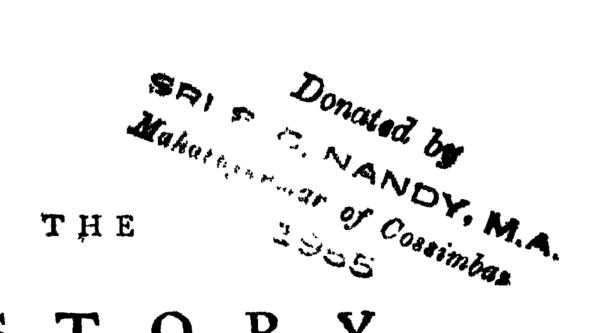
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HE parliament which was functioned foon CHAT. after the king's accellion, was both elected and assembled in tranquillity; and the great change, 1377. from a fovereign of consummate wishom and expe-Gov rnrience to a boy of eleven years of age, was not im- in the mediately felt by the people. The habits of order minusity. and obedience which the barons had been taught during Vol. III. \mathbf{B}

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

CHAP during the long reign of Edward, fill influenced them; and the authority of the king's three unclear the dukes of Lancalter, York, and Glocester, jufficed to repress, for a time, the turbulent spirit to which that order, in a weak reign, was to often subject. The dangerous ambition too of these princes themfelves was checked by the plain and undeniable title of Richard, by the declaration of it made in parliament, and by the affectionate regard which the people bore to the memory of his father, and which was naturally transferred to the young a vereign upon the throne. The different characters also of these three princes rendered them a counterpoile to each other; and it was natural to expect, that any dangerous defigns which might be formed by one brother, would meet with opposition from the others. Lancafter, whole ag

authority under the late ling, gave him the

proof against creat tem, tations, was neither of an enterpoling tempor. Fork was indolent, unactive, and or dender copacity. Gloceller was turbulent, bold, and popular; but being the youngest of the family, was refereined by the power and authority of his elder brothers. There appeared, therefore, no circumstance in the donactic stuation of England which might endanger the public peace, or give any immediate apprehensions to the lovers of their country.

coffion to the crown, had taken no care to establish a plan of government during the minority of his grandson, it behaved the parliament to su, ply this defect: And the house of commons distinguished themselves by taking the lead on the occasion. This house, which had been rising to consideration during the whole course of the late reign, naturally received an accession of power during the minority; and as it was now becoming a scene of business, the members

members choic, for the first time, a speaker, who C u A P. might preferve order in their debates, and maintain XVIII. those forms which are requilite in all numerous afsemblies. Peter de la Mare was the man pitched on; the fame person that had been imprisoned, and detained in custody by the late king. for his freedom of speech in attacking the multress and the ministers of that prince. But though this election discovered a spirit of liberty in the commons, and was followed by farther attacks both on their ministers and on Alice Pierce a, they were dill too leadible of their great inferiority, to assume at first any immediate thate in the administration of government, or the care of the king's person. They were content to apply by petition to the lords for that purpose, and defire them, both to appoint a council of nine, vio might direct the public bunnels, and to shafz men of virtuous life and conversation, who might impect the conduct and education of the young prince. The lords complied with the first part of this request, and elected the bifliops of London, Carlide, and Salifbury, the earls of Marche and Sallord, Sir Richard de Stationd, Sir Henry le Scrope, Sir John Devereux, and Sir Hugh Segrave, to whom they gave ambority, for a year, to conduct the ordinary course of bulinels. But as to the expansion of the king's household, they deel ned interpolary in an office which, they add, both was indicates in infell, and might prove differentials to his majerty.

THE commons, as they acquired more courage, ventured to proceed a step futher in their applications They prefented a pecition, in which they prayed the king to check the proviking cultom, among the barons, of forming illeral confederacies, and supporting each other, as well as men of inferior rank, in the violations of law and justice. They received from the throne a general and an obliging.

^{*} Wa'fing . "p. 150.

⁴ Rymer, voi vii. p. 161.

XVII. 1377-

4

CHAP. answer to this petition: But another part of their application, that all the great officers should, during the king's minority, be appointed by parliament, which feemed to require the concurrence of the commens, as well as that of the upper house, in the nomination, was not complied with: The lords alone assumed the power of appointing these officers: The commons tacitly acquiefeed in the choice; and thought that, for the present, they themselves had proceeded a sufficient length, if they but advanced their pretentions, though rejected, of interpoling in these more important matters of state.

> On this root then the government flood. The administration was conducted entirely in the king's name: No regency was expressly appointed: The nine counselors and the grat officers, named by the peers, did their duty, each in his respective department: And the whole lykem was for fome years kept together by the teeret authority of the king's uncles, especially of the dukt of Lancaster, who

was in reality the regent.

The parliament was diffolyed, ofter the essumona had represented the necessity of their being reaffembled once every year, is appointed by law; and after having elected two citizens as their trea-Firers, to receive, and elli urfly the produce of two fifteenties and tentles, which they had voted to the rown. In the other parliaments called during the ninority, the commons still alleover a drong spirit If freedom, and a sense of their own authority, which, without breeding any disturbance, tended to fecure their independence, and that of the people '.

• EDWARD had left his grandfon involved in many dangerous wars. The pretentions of the duke of Lancaster to the crown of Callila made that kingdom still persevere in hostilities against England. Scotland, whose throne was new filled by Robert

[«] See rote [A] at the end of the volume.

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2377-

Stuart, nephew to David Bruce, and the first prince C II A P. of that family, maintained fuch close connections with France, that war with one crown almost inevitably produced hossilities with the other. The French monarch, whose prudent conduct had acquired him the firmame of reife, as he had already baffled all the experience and valour of the two Edwards, was likely to prove a dangerous enemy to a minor king: But his genius, which was not nafunally enterprinned led him not, at prefent, to give any diffurb nee to his neighbours; and he laboured, belides, under many deliculties at home, which it was meedfary for hira to furnioum before he could think of making course is in a foreign country. England was master of Col. is Bandeaux, and Bry ame; had lately acquired pollettion of Cherboor; from the cent in of the king of Navarre, and of Buck from that of the delse or Britanny'; and Lavier thus an enly entrance into France from every quarter, was able, even in Hypertent lituation, to give diffurbance to his government. Before Charles could remove the lay Wh igon these important rofts, he died in the flower of his age, and left his long lem to a minor fon, who bore the name of Chales VI.

Measwill r the war with France was carried on in a manner formewhat larguid, and produced no enterprise of great ludre or resova. Sir Hugh Calverly, governor of Calais, making an inroad into Picardy with a detachment of the garrison, fet fire to Boulogues. The dake of Lancalter conducted An army into Britanny, but returned without being able to perform any thing memorable. In a subsequent year, the duke of Glocester marched out of Calais with a body of 1000 cavalry, and , 8000 infantry; and scrupled not, with his small army, to enter into the heart of France, and to con-

B 3

13:5.

1385.

& Rymer, vol. vii. p. 195.

" Waltig, p. 209.

tinue

XVII. 1389.

CHAP tinue his ravages through Picardy, Champaigne, the Brie, the Beausse, the Gatinois the Orleanois, till he reached his allies in the province of Britanny. The duke of Burgundy, at the head of a more confiderable army, came within fight of him; but the French were to overawed by the former successes of the English, that no superiority of numbers could tempt them to venture a pitched battle with the troops of that nation. As the duke of Britanny, foon after the arrival of these succours, formed an accommodation with the court of France, this enterprise also proved in the issue unsuccessful, and made no durable impression upon the enemy.

THE expences of these armaments, and the usual want of economy attending a minority, much exhausted the English treasury, and obliged the parliament, besides making some alterations in the council, to impose a new and unusual tax of three greats on every person, male and semale, above fifteen years of age; and they ordained that, in levying that tax, the opulent should relieve the poor by an equitable compentation. This imposition produced a mutiny, which was fingular in its circumstancts. All history abounds with examples where the great tyrannife over the meaner fort: But here the lowest populace role against their rulers, committed the most cruel ravages upon them, and took vengeance for all former oppressions.

THE faint dawn of the arts and of good government in that age had excited the minds of the populace in different states of Europe; to wish for a better condition, and to murmur against those chains which the laws, enacted by the haughty nobility and gentry, had so long imposed up in them. The commotions of the people in Flanders, the amutiny of the peafants in France, were the natural effects of this growing spirit of independence; and

f Froissard, live ii. chap. 50, 51. Walting. p. 239.

the report of these events being brought into Eng- CHAP. land, where personal slavery, as we learn from Froissard 4, was more general than in any other country in Europe, had prepared the minds of the multitude for an infurrection. One John Ball also, a seditious preacher, who affected low popularity, went about the country, and inculcated on his audience the principles of the first origin of mankind from one common stock, their equal right to liberty and to all the goods of nature, the tyranny of artificial dulinctions, and the abuses which had arisen from the degradation of the more contiderable part of the species, and the aggrandisement of a sew insolent rulers h. These doctrines, so agreeable to the populace, and so conformable to the ideas of primitive equality which are engraven in the hearts of all men, were greedily received by the replittude; and scattered the sparks of that sedicion, which the present tax raised into a conflagration i.

THE imposition of three groats a head had been Insurecfarmed out to tax-gatherers in each county, who common levied the money on the people with rigour; and people. the clause, of making the rich ease their poorer neighbours of some share of the burden, being so vague and undeterminate, had, doubtiefs, occasioned many partialities, and made the people more fenfible of the unequal lot which fortune had affigued them in the distribution of her favours. The first disorder was raised by a blacksmith in a village of Effex. The tax-gatherers came to this man's shop while he was at work; and they demanded payment for his daughter, whom he afferted to be below the age affigned by the flatute. One of these fellows

When Adam delv'd and Eve fpan, Where was then the gentleman?

h Froiffard, liv. ii. chap. 74. Walg Liv. ii. chap. 74. fingham, p 275.

i There were two en fes at that time in the mouths of all the come. mon people, which, in spite of prejudice, one cannot but regard with fome degree of approbation:

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CHAP offered to produce a very indecent proof to the contrary, and at the same time laid hold of the maid: Which the father resenting, immediately knocked out the rushau's brains with his hammer. The bystanders applauded 'he action, and exclaimed, that it was full time for the people to take vengeance on their tyranis, and to vindicate their native liberty. They immediately flew to arms: The whole neighbourhood joined in the sedition: The flame spread in an instant ever the county: It soon propagated itself into that of Kent. or Hertford, Surry, Suffex, Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridge, and Lincoln. Before the government had the least warning of the danger, the diforder had grown beyond control or opposition: The populace had shaken off all regard to their former mallers: And being headed by the most audacious and criminal of their associates, who assumed the feigner names of Wat Tyler, Jack Straw, H. b Carter, and Tom Miller, by which they were fond of denoting their mean origin, they committed every where the most outrageous violence on fuch of the gentry or nobility as had the misfortune to fall into their bands.

12th June.

THE muticous populace, amounting to a hundred thouland men, allembled on Blackheath under their leaders Tyler and Straw; and as the princefs of Wales, the king's mother, returning from a pilgrime je to Canterliu y, paffed through the midft of them, they infulted her avendants; and some of the most insolent among them, to shew their purpose of levelling all mankind, forced killes from-her; but · they allowed her to continue her journey, without at mpting any farther injury!. They fent a medlage to the king, who had taken shelter in the Tower; and they defired a conference with him. Richard failed down the river in a barge for that purpose; but on his-approaching the shore, he saw such symptoms

RICHARD II.

of tumult and insolence, that he put back, and re- CIIAP. turned to that fortress. The seditious peasants, meanwhile, favoured by the populace of London, had broken into the city; had burned the duke of Lancaster's palace of the Savoy; cut off the heads of all the gentlemen whom they laid hold of; expressed a particular animosity against the lawyers and attornics; and pillaged the warehouses of the rich merchants. A great body of them quartered theinselves at Mile-end; and the king, finding no defence in the Tower, which was weakly garrifoned, and ill supplied with provisions, was obliged to go out to them, and ask their demands. They required a general pardon, the abolition of flavery, freedom of commerce in market-towns without toll or impost, and a fixed rent on lands, instead of the fervices due by villenage. These requests, which, though extremely reasonable in themselves, the nation was not fulliciently prepared to receive, and which it was dangerous to have extorted by violence, were however, complied with; charters to that purpose were granted them; and this body immediately dispersed, and returned to their several homes ".

During this transaction, another body of the rebels had broken into the Tower; had murdered Simon Sudbury, the primate and chancellor, with Sir Robert Hales, the treasurer, and some other persons of distinction; and continued their ravages in the city. The king, passing along Smithsield, very slenderly guarded, met with Wat Tyler, at the head of these rioters, and entered into a conference with him. Tyler, having ordered his companions to retire till he should give them a signal, after which they were to murder all the company except the king himself, whom they were to detain

fingham, p 248, 249.

P Walfingham, p. 250, 251.

<sup>n Ibid. chap. 76. Wale
Froislard, liv. ii. chap. 77.</sup>

C IF A P. prisoner, feared not to come into the midst of the royal retinue. He there behaved himself in such a manner, that Walworth, the mayor of London, not able to bear his infolence, drew his fword, and flruck him so violent a blow as brought him to the ground, where he was instantly dispatched by others of the king's attendants. The mutineers, feeing their leader fall, prepared themselves for revenge; and this whole company, with the king himfelf, had undoubtedly perished on the spot, had it not been for an extraordinary presence of mind which Richard discovered on the occasion. He ordered his company to stop; hé advanced alone towards the enraged multitude; and accosting them with an affable and intrepid countenance, he asked them, "What is the meaning of this diforder, my good " people? Are ye angry that ye have lost your " leader? I am your king: I will be your leader." The populace, overawed by his presence, implicitly followed him: He led them into the fields, to prevent any disorder which might have arisen by their continuing in the city: Being there joined by Sir Robert Knolles, and a body of well-armed veteran foldiers, who had been feeretly drawn together, he flrictly prohibited that officer from falling on the rioters, and committing an undistinguished slaughter upon them; and he peaceably difinitfed them with the same charters which had been granted to their fellows 9. Soon after, the nobility and gentry, hearing of the king's danger, in which they were all involved, flocked to London with their adherents and retainers; and Richard took the field at the head of an army 40,000 strong. It then behoved all the rebels to fubmit: The charters of enfrarchisement and pardon were revoked by parliament; the low people were reduced to the same slavish condition as before; and feveral of the ringleaders

Froissard, vol ii. chap. 77. Walfingham, p. 252. Knyghton, r Walfleghäm, p. 267. p. 263.7.

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were severely punished for the late disorders. Some CHAP. were even executed without process or form of law . It was pretended, that the intentions of the mutineers had been to feize the king's person, to carry him through England at their head, to murder all the nobility, gentry, and lawyers, and even all the bishops and priests, except the mendicant friars; to dispatch afterwards the king himself; and having thus reduced all to a level, to order the kingdom at their pleasure. It is not impossible, but many of them, in the delirium of their first success, might have formed such projects: But of all the evils incident to human fociety, the infurrections of the populace, when not raifed and supported by persons of higher quality, are the least to be dreaded: The inischiefs consequent to an abolition of all rank and distinction, become so great, that they are immediately felt, and foon bring affairs back to their former order and arrangement.

A youth of fixteen (which was at this time the king's age), who had discovered to much courage, presence of mind, and address, and had so dextrously eluded the violence of this tumult, raifed great expectations in the nation; and it was natural to hope, that he would, in the course of his life, equal the glories which had & uniformly attended his father and his grandfather in all their undertakings. in proportion as Richard advanced in years, thefe hopes vanished; and his want of capacity, at least of folid judgment, appeared in every enterprife which he attempted. the Scots, sensible of their own deficiency in cavalry, had applied to the regency of Charles VI.; and John de Vienne, admiral of France, had been fent over with a body of 1500 men at arms, to support them in their incursions against the English. The danger was now deemed by the king's uncles somewhat serious; and

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^{* 5} sich. II cap, ult, as quoted in the Observations on ancient Statutes, p. 262. Waltingham, p. 265.

XVII. **13**55.

СнАР. a numerous army of 60,000 men was levied; and they marched into Scotland, with Richard himself at their head. The Scots did not pretend to make resistance against so great a force: They abandoned without scruple their country to be pillaged and destroyed by the enciny: And when de Vienne expressed his surprise at this plan of operations, they told him, that all their cattle was driven into the for fls and fastnesses; that their houses and other goods were of finall value; and that they well knew how to compensate any losses which they might suftain in them a spect, by making an incursion into England. Accordingly, when Richard entered Scotland by Berwie and the east coast, the Scots, to the number of 30,000 men, attended by the French, entered the borders of England by the west, and carrying their ravages through Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Laucashire, collected a rich booty, and then recurred in manquillity to their own country. Richard mean while advanced towards Edinburgh, and destroyed in his way all the towns and villages on each fide of him: He reduced that city to ashes: He treated in the same manner, Perth, Dundee, and other places in the low countries; but when he was advised to march towards the west coast, to await there the return of the enemy, and to take revenge on them for their devastations, his impatience to return to England, and enjoy his usual pleasures and amusements, outweighed every confideration; and he led back his army, without effecting any thing-by all these mighty preparations. The Scots, foon after, finding the heavy bodies of French cavalry very useless in that desultory kind of war to which they confined themselves, treated their allies so ill, that the French returned home, much disgusted with the country, and with the manners of its inhabitants". And the English, though they rc-

gretted

u Froissard, liv. ii. chap. 149, 150, &c. liv. iii chap. 52. fingham, p. 316, 317-

gretted the indolence and levity of their king, faw CHAP. themselves for the future secured against any dangerous invasion from that quarter.

1386.

Bur it was so material an interest of the French court to wrest the sea-port towns from the hands of their enemy, that they resolved to attempt it by fome other expedient, and found no means so likely as an invasion of England itself. They collected a great fleet and army at Sluife; for the I lemings were now in alliance with them: All the nobility of France were end red in this The English were kept in alarm: Great preparations were made for the reception of the invaders: And though the dispersion of the French ships by a storm, and the taking of many of them by the English, before the embarkation of the troops, freed the kingdom from the present danger, the king and con seil were fully fentible that this perilous fituation might every moment return upon them w.

THERE were two circumstances, chiesty, which engaged the French at this time to think of fuch attempts. The one was the absence of the duke of Lancatter, who had carried into Spain the flower of the English military force, in prosecution of his vain claim to the crown of Castile; an enterprise in which, after some promising success, he was sinally disappointed: The other was, the violent distensions and disorders which had taken place in the English

government.

Tite subjection in which Richard was held by his uncles, particularly by the duke of Glocefter, a prince of ambition and genius, though it was not unfuitable to his years and flender capacity, was extremely disagreeable to his violent temper; and he soon attempted to shake off the yoke imposed upon him. Robert de Vere, earl of Oxford, a young man of a noble family, of an agreeable figure, but

^{*} Froissard, liv. ili. chap. 41.53. Walsingham, p. 322, 323.

XVII. ¥386.

C H A P. of dissolute manners, had acquired an entire ascendant over him, and governed him with an absolute authority. The kir r fet so little bounds to his affection, that he first created his favourite marquis of Dublin, a title before unknown in England, then duke of Ireland; and transferred to him by patent, which was confirmed in parliament, the entire fovereignty for life of that island *. He gave him in marriage his cousin-german, the daughter of Ingelram de Couci, earl of Bedford; but soon after he permitted him to repudiate that lady, though of an unexceptionable character, and to marry a foreigner, a Bohemian, with whom he had become enainoured '. These public declarations of attachment turned the attention of the whole court towards the minion: All favours passed through his hands: Access to the king could only be obtained by his mediation: And Richard seemed to take no pleasure in royal authority, but to far as it enabled him to load with fayours and titles and dignities this object of his affections.

Discontent or the ba. ons.

THE jealousy of power animofity between the minion and

the one hand, and the princes of the blood and chief nobility on the other; and the ufual complaints against the insolence of favourites were loudly echoed, and greedily received; in every part of the kingdom. Moubray earl of Nottingham, the mareschal, Fitz-Alan earl of Arundel, Piercy earl of Northumberland, Montacute earl of Salisbury, Beauchampearl of Warvic, were all connected with each other, and with the princes, by friendship or · alliance, and still more by their common antipathy to those who had eclipted them in the king's favour and confidence. No lorger kept in awe by the personal character of the prince, they scorned to fubmit to his miniffers; and the method which

they

^{*} Cotton, p. 310, 311. Colle Mitt. of Island, p. 129. Wal-.7 Wattingham, p 328. fingham, p. 324.

they took to redress the grievances complained of, CHAP XVII. well fuited the violence of the age, and proves the desperate extremities to which every opposition was 1386. fure to be instantly carried.

MICHAEL DE LA POLI, the present chancellor, and lately created earl of Suffolk, was the fon of an eminent merchant; but had risen by his abilities and valour during the wars of Edward III., had ac-

quired the friendship of that monarch, and was elteemed the person of greatest experience and capacity among those who were attached to the duke of Ireland and the king's fecret council. The duke of Glocester, who had the house of commons at his devotion, impelled them to exercise that power, which they seem first to have assumed against Lord Latimer during the declining years of the late king; and an impeachment against the chancellor was carried up by them to the house of peers, which was no less at his devotion. The king forefaw the tempest preparing against him and his ministers. After attempting in vain to rouse the Londoners to his defence, he withdrew from parliament, and retired with his court to Eltham. The parliament fent a deputation, inviting him to recurn, and threatening, that, if he perfifted in abfenting himfelf, they would immediately dissolve, and leave the nation, though at that time in imminent danger of a French invalion, without any support or supply for its defence. At the same time a member was encouraged to call for the record containing the parliamentary deposition of Edward II.; a plain intimation of the fate which Richard, if he continued refractory, had reason to expect from them. The king, finding himself unable to retist, was content to stipulate, that, except sinishing the present impeachment against Susfolk, no attack should be made upon any other of his ministers; and on that condition he

returned to the parliament.

^{*} See note [B] at the end of the volume.

CHAP XVII.

Nothing can prove more fully the innocence of Susfolk, than the frivolousness of the crimes which his enemies, in the present plenitude of their power, thought proper to object against him . It was alleged, that being chancellor, and obliged by his oath to confult the king's profit, he had purchased lands of the crown below their true value; that he had exchanged with the king a perpetual annuity of 400 marks a year, which he inherited from his father, and which was affigned upon the cuftomsof the port of Hull for lands of an equal income; that having obtained for his fon the priory of St. Anthony, which was formerly possessed by a Frenchman, an enemy, and a schismatic, and a new prior being at the fame time named by the pope, he had refused to admit this person, whose title was not legal, till he made a composition with his fon, and agreed to pay him a hundred pounds a year from the income of the benefice; that he had purchased, from one Twleman of Limborch, an old and farlited annuity of fifty pounds a-year upon the crown, and had engaged the king to admit that bad debt; and that, when created earl of Suffolk, he had obtained a grant of 500 pounds a year, to fupport the dignity of that title. Even the proof of these articles, frivolous as they are, was found very deficient upon the trial: It appeared that Suffolk had made no purchase from the crown while he was chancellor, and that all his bargains of that kind were made before he was advanced to that dignity. It is almost needless to add, that he was condemned notwithflanding his defence; and that he was deprived of his office.

² Cotton, p. 315. Knyghton, p. 2685.

c Cotton, p. 315.

b It is probable that the earl of Sulfoik was not rich, nor able to fupport the dignity without the bounty of the crown: For his father, Michael de la Pole, though a great merchant, had been ruined by lending money to the late king. See Cottop, p. 194. We may remark that the duke of Glocester and York, though vastly rich, received at the same time each of them a thou and pounds a year, to support their dignity. Rymer, vol. vol. p. 481. Cotton, p. 310.

GLOCESTER and his affociates observed their stipu- CHAP. lation with the king, and attacked no more of his ministers: But they immediately attacked himself and his royal dignity, and framed a commission after the model of those which had been attempted almost in every reign since it at of Richard I. and which had always been attended with extreme confusion d. By this commission, which was ratified by parliament, a council of fourteen persons was appointed, all of Glocester's faction, except Nevil archbishop of York: The sovereign power was transferred to these men for a twelvemonth: The king, who had now reached the twenty-first year of his age, was in reality dethroned: The ariftocracy was rendered supreme: And though the term of the commission was limited, it was easy to foresee that the intentions of the party were to render it perpetual, and that power would with great difficulty be wrested from those grasping hands to which it was once committed. Richard, however, was obliged to submit: He signed the commission, which violence had extorted from him; he took an oath never to infringe it; and though at the end of the session he publicly entered a protest, that the prerogatives of the crown, notwithstanding his late concession, should still be deemed entire and unimpaired', the new commissioners, without regarding this declaration, proceeded to the exercise of their authority.

Civil com-

THE king, thus dispossessed of royal power, was foon sensible of the contempt into which he was fallen. His favourites and ministers, who were as yet allowed to remain about his person, failed not to aggravate the injury, which, without any demerit on his part, had been offered to him. And his eager temper was of itself sufficiently inclined to seek the means, both of recovering his authority, and of revenging himfelf on those who had invaded it. As the house of

Knyghton, p. 2686. Statutes at Large, 10 Rich. II. chap. i.

e Cotton, p. 318.

C II A P

A VII.

commons appeared now of weight in the constitution, he fecretly tried some expedients for procuring a favourable election: He founded some of the sherifls, was being at that time both the returning officers and magillrates of great power in the counties, and naturally confiderable influence in elections for But, as most of them had been appointed by his uncles, either during his mmority, or during the course of the present commission, he found them, in general, avers to bis enterprise. The sentiments and inclinations of the judges were more favourable to him. He met, at Wastingham, fir Robert Trefilian, chief jullice of the Hing's Bench, fir Robert Belknappe, chief justice of the Common Pleas, fir John Cary, chief baron of the Exchequer, Holt, Fulthorpe, and Bourg, interior juffices, and Lockton, ferjeant at law; and he proposed to them some queries; which these lawyers, either from the influence of his authority or of reason, made no scruple of answering in the way he defired. They declared that the late commission was derogatory to the royalty and prerogative of the Fig; that those who produced it, or advised the king to content to it, were punishable with death; that those who necessitated and compelled him were guilty on treason; that those were equally criminal who should persevere in maintaining it; that the king has the right of dissolving parliaments at pleasure; that the parliament, while it fits, must first proceed upon the king's business; and that this assembly cannot, without his consent, impeach any of his ministers and judges?. Even according to our present strict maxims with regard to law and the royal prerogative, all these determinations, except the two last, appear justifial ic: And as the great privileges of the commons, particularly that of impeachment, were hitherto new,

In the preamble to 5 Henry IV. cap. vii it is implied, that the theriffs in a manner appointed the members of the house of commons not only in this parliament, but in many others.

² Knyohton, p. 2694. Yood. Neuft. p. 541.

and supported by few precedents, there want not plau- C HAP. fible reasons to justify these opinions of the judges h. XVII They figned therefore their answer to the king's queries before the archbilhops of York and Dublin, the bishops of Durham, Chichester, and Bangor, the duke of Ireland, the earl of Suffolk, and two other

counsellors of inferior quality.

THE duke of Glocester and his adherents soon got intelligence of this secret consultation, and were naturally very much alarmed at it. They saw the king's intentions; and they determined to prevent the execution of them. As foon as he came to Loudon, which they knew was well disposed to their party, they fecretly assembled their forces, and appeared in arms at Haringay-park, near Highgate, with a power which Richard and his ministers were not able to retist. They sent him a message by the archbishop of Canterbury, and the lords Lovel, Cobham, and Devereux, and demanded that the persons who had seduced him by their pernicious counsel, and were traitors both to him and to the kingdom, should be delivered up to them. A few days after they appeared in his presence, armed and attended with armed followers; and they accused, by name, the archbishop of York, the duke of Ireland, the earl of Suffolk, fir Robert Tresilian, and sir Nicholas Brembre, as

h The parliament, in 1341, exacted of Edward III. that, on the third day of every fession, the king should resume all the great offices: and that the ministers should then answer to any accusation that should be brought against them. Which plainly implies that while ministers, they could not be accused or impeached in parliament. Henry IV. told the commons, that the utage of parliament required them first to go through the king's bufiness in granting supplies; which order the king intended not to alter. Parl. Hist. vol. ii. p. 65. Upon the whole it must be allowed, that according to ancient practice and principles, there are, at leaft, plaufible grounds for all these opinion; of the judge. It must be remarked, that this affirmation of Henry IV. was given deliberately, after confulting the house of peers, who were much better acquainted with the usage of parliament than theignorant commons. And it has the greater authority, because Homy IV. had made this very principle a confiderable article of charge against his predecessor; and that a very few years before Soill grounded were most of the imputations thrown on the unhappy Richard!

public

CHAP. public and dangerous enemies to the state. They threw down their gauntlets before the king, and fiercely offered to maintain the truth of their charge by duel. The persons accused, and all the other obnoxious ministers, had withdrawn or had concealed themselves.

> THE duke of Ireland fled to Cheshire, and levied some forces, with which he advanced to relieve the king from the violence of the nobles. Glocester encountered him in Oxfordshire with much superior forces; routed him, dispersed his followers, and obliged him to fly into the Low-Countries, where he died in exile a few years after. The lords then appeared at London with an army of forty thousand men; and having obliged the king to summon a parliament, which was entirely at their devotion, they had full power, by observing a few legal forms, to take vengeance on all their enemies. Five great peers, men whose combined power was able at any time to shake the throne, the duke of Glocester, the king's uncle; the earl of Derby, fon of the duke of Lancaster; the earl of Arundel; the earl of Warwic, and the earl of Nottingham, marefchal of England, entered before the parliament anaccusation or appeal, as it was called, against the five counsellors whom they had already accused before the king. The parliament, who ought to have been judges, were not ashamed to impose an oath on all their members, by which they bound themselves to live and die with the Iords appellants, and to defend them against all opposition with their lives and fortunes ".

¥388. 3d Feb.

Trpvilion つじ せんしさひー tion of the king's mi-MIRCTS.

> THE other proceedings were well fuited to the violence and iniquity of the times. A charge, confifting of thirty-nine articles, was delivered in by the appellants; and, as none of the accused counsellors except fir Nicholas Brembre was in cullody, the rest were cited to appear; and, upon their absenting

> > r Cotton, p. 322.

XVII.

1388.

themselves, the house of peers, after a very short in- CHAP. terval, without hearing a witness, without examining a fact, or deliberating on one point of law, declared them guilty of high treason. Sir Nicholas Brembre, who was produced in court, had the appearance, and but the appearance, of a trial: The peers, though they were not by law his proper judges, pronounced, in a very fummary manner, fentence of death upon him; and he was executed, together with fir Robert Tresilian, who had been discovered and taken in the interval.

Ir would be tedious to recite the whole charge delivered in against the five counselors; which is to be met with in several collections. It is sufficient to observe, in general, that if we reason upon the supposition, which is the true one, that the royal prerogative was invaded by the committion extorted by the duke of Glocester and his associates, and that the king's person was afterwards detained in custody by rebels, many of the articles will appear, not only to imply no crime in the duke of Ireland and the ministers, but to ascribe to them actions which were laudable, and which they were bound by their allegiance to perform. The few articles impeaching the conduct of these ministers before that commisfion, which subverted the constitution, and annihilated all justice and legal authority, are vague and general; fuch as their engrofling the king's favour, keeping his barons at a distance from him, obtaining unreasonable grants for themselves or their creatures, and diffipating the public treasure by useless expences. No violence is objected to them; no particular illegal act *; no breach of any statute; and their administration may therefore be concluded to have been fo far innocent and inoffensive. the disorders indeed seem to have proceeded, not

i Kuyghton, p. 2715. Tyriel, vol. iii. part 2. p. 919. from the records. Parl. Hift. vol. i. p. 414.

^{*} See note [C] at the end of the volume.

XV.I. **1388**.

CHAP from any violation of the laws, or any ministerial tyranny, but merely from a rivalship of power, which the duke of Glocester and the great nobility, agreeably to the genius of the times, carried to the utmost extremity against their opponents, without any

regard to reason, justice, or humanity.

But there were not the only deeds of violence committed auring the triumph of the party. All the other judges, who had figned the extrajudicial opinions at Nottingham, were condemned to death, and were, as a grace or favour, banished to Ireland; though they pleaded the fear of their lives, and the meraces of the king's ministers as their excuse. Lord Beauchamp of Holt, fir James Berners, and John Salisbury, were also tried and condemned for high treason; metely occause they had attempted to defeat the late commission: But the life of the latter was spared. The fate of fir Simon Burley was more severe: This gentleman was much beloved for his personal merit, had distinguished himself by many honourable action, k, was created knight of the garter, and had been appointed governor to Richard, by the choice of the late king and of the Plack Prince: He had attended his master from the earliest infancy of that prince, and had ever remained extremely attached to him: Yet all these considerations could not save him from falling a victim to Glocester's vengeance. This execution, more than all the others, made a deep impression on the mind of Richard: His queen too (for he was already married to the fifter of the emper r Winceslaus, king of Bohemis) interested herself in behalf of Burley: She remained three hours on her knees before the duke of Glocester, pleading for that gentleman's

* At least this i the character given of him by Froistard, liv. ii. who knew him personally: Walfingham, p 334, gives a very different character of him: but he i a writer fomewhat paffionate and partial: and the choice made of this gentleman by Edward III and the Black re for the education of Richard, makes the character given him issard much more probable.

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life; but though she was become extremely popular C H A P. by her amiable qualities, which had acquired her the appellation of the good queen Ann, her petition

was sternly rejected by the inexorable tyrant.

THE parliament concluded this violent scene, by a declaration that none of the articles, decided on these trials to be treason, should ever afterwards be drawn into precedent by the judges, who were still to consider the statute of the twenty-fifth of Edward as the rule of their decisions. The house of lords feem not, at that time, to have known or acknowledged, the principle, that they themselves were bound, in their judicial capacity, to follow the rules which they, in conjunction with the king and commons, had established in their legislative *. It was alto enacted, that every one should swear to the perpetual maintenance and support of the forfeitures and attainders, and of all the other acts passed during this parliament. The archbishop of Canterbury added the penalty of excommunication, as a farther security to these violent transactions.

Ir might naturally be expected, that the king, being reduced to such slavery by the combination of the princes and chief nobility, and having appeared so unable to defend his servants from the cruel effects of their resentment, would long remain in subjection to them; and never would recover the royal power, without the most violent struggles and convulsions: But the event proved contrary. In less than a twelvemonth, Richard, who was in his twenty-third year, declared in council, that, as he had now attained the full age which entitled him to govern by his own authority his kingdom and household, he resolved to exercise his right of sovereignty; and when no one ventured to contradict so reasonable an intention, he deprived Fitz-Alan, archbishop of Canterbury, of the dignity of chancellor, and bestowed that high

* See note [D] at the end of the volume.

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office

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XVII. 1389.

CHAP. office on William of Wickham, bishop of Winchester; the bishop of Hereford was displaced from the office of treasurer, the earl of Arundel from that of admiral; even the duke of Glocester and the earl of Warwic were removed for a time from the council: And no opposition was made to these great changes. The history of this reign is impersect, and little to be depended on; except where it is supported by public records: And it is not easy for us to assign the reason of this unexpected event. Perhaps some fecret animofities, naturally to be expedied in that fituation, had creeped in among the great men, and had enabled the king to recover his authority. Perhaps the violence of their former proceedings had lost them the affections of the people, who soon repent of any cruel extremities to which they are carried by their leaders. However this may be, Richard exercifed with moderation the authority which he had refumed. He feemed to be entirely reconciled to his uncles 1 and the other great men, of whom he had fo much reason to complain. He never attempted to recal from banishment the duke of Ireland, whom he found so obnoxious to them: He confirmed, by proclamation, the general pardon v.hich the parliament had passed for all offences: And he courted the affections of the people, by voluntarily remitting some subsidies which had been granted him; a remarkable and almost singular initance of fuch generofity.

AFTER this composure of domestic differences, and this restoration of the government to its natural state, there passes an interval of eight years, which affords not many remarkable events. The duke of Lancaster returned from Spain; having resigned to his rival all pretentions to the crown of Castile upon payment of a large fum of money m, and having married his daughter, Philippa, to the king of Por-

tugal.

m Knyghion, p. 2677. Wal-¹ Dugdale, vol. ii. p. 170. ingham, p. 342,

tugal. The authority of this prince served to coun- CHAP. terbalance that of the duke of Glocester, and se-cured the power of Richard, who paid great court 1389. to his eldest uncle, by whom he had never been ossended, and whom he found more moderate in his temper than the younger. He made a cession to him for life of the dutchy of Guienne, which the inclinations and changeable humour of the Gascons had restored to the English government; but as they remonstrated loudly against this deed, it was finally, with the duke's confent, revoked by Richard . There happened an incident, which produced a dissension between Lancaster and his two brothers. After the death of the Spanish princess, he espoused Catharine Swinesord, daughter of a private knight of Hainault, by whose alliance York and Glocester thought the dignity of their family much injured: But the king gratified his uncle, by pashing in parliament a charter of legitimation to the children whom that lady had born him before marriage, and by creating the eldest earl of Somerfet ".

THE wars, meanwhile, which Richard had inherited with his crown, still continued; though interrupted by frequent truces, according to the practice of that age, and conducted with little vigour, by reason of the weakness of all parties. The French war was scarcely heard of; the tranquillity of the northern borders was only interrupted by one inroad of the Scots, which proceeded more from a rivalship between the two martial families of Piercy and Douglas, than from any national quarrel: A sierce battle or skirmish was fought at Otterborne, in which young Piercy, sirnamed Hotspur, from his impetuous valour, was taken prisoner, and Douglas slain; and the victory remained undecided.

Froissard, liv. iii. chap. 124, 125, 126. Walsingham, p. 355.

n Rymer, vol. vii. p. 659. lbid. p. 687. p Cotton. p. 365. Walfingham, p. 352. q r5th August, r388.

XVII.

1389.

1396.

CHAP. Some insurrections of the Irish obliged the king to make an expedition into that country, which he reduced to obedience; and he recovered, in some degree, by this enterprise, his character of courage, which had fuffered a little by the inactivity of his reign. At last, the English and French courts began to think in earnest of a lasting peace; but found it so difficult to adjust their opposite pretensions, that they were content to establish a truce of twentyfive years': Brest and Cherbourg were restored, the former to the duke of Britanny, the latter to the king of Navarre: Both parties were left in possession of all the other. places which they held at the time of concluding the truce: And to render the amity between the two crowns more durable, Richard, who was now a widower, was affianced to Habella the daughter of Charles. This princess was only seven years of age; but the king agreed to so unequal a match, chiefly that he might fertify himself by this alliance against the enterprises of his uncles, and the incurable turbulence as well as inconstancy of his barons.

THE administration of the king, though it was not, in this interval, sullied by any unpopular act, except the seizing of the charter of London ", which was soon after eftored, tended not much to corroborate his authority; and his personal character brought him into contempt, even while his public government appeared, in a good measure, unexceptionable. Indolent, profuse, addicted to low pleasures; he spent his whole time in feasting and jollity, and dissipated, in idle show, or in bounties to favourites of no reputation, that revenue which the people expected to see him employ in enterprises directed to public honour and advantage. He forgot his rank by admitting all men to his familiarity; and he was not sensible, that their acquaints

F Rymer, vol. vii. p. 820. t 15id. p. 811.

[&]quot; Ibid. p. 727. Walfingham, p. 347.

ance with the qualities of his mind was not able to CHAP. impress them with the respect which he neglected to preserve from his birth and station. The earls of Kent and Huntingdon, his half brothers, were his chief confidents and favourites; and though he never devoted himself to them with so profuse an affection as that with which he had formerly been attached to the duke of Ireland, it was enfy for men to see, that every grace passed through their hands, and that the king had rendered himfelf a mere cypher in the government. The small regard which the public bore to his person, disposed them to murmur against his administration, and to receive, with greedy ears, every complaint which the difcontented or ambitious grandees suggested to them. GLOCESTER soon perceived the advantages which Cabals of

both resentment and jealousy on the part of his ne- Glocester. phew still prevented him from acquiring any ascendant over that prince, he determined to cultivate his popularity with the nation, and to revenge himself on those who eclipsed him in favour and authority. He seldom appeared at court or in council: He never declared his opinion but in order to disapprove of the measures embraced by the King and his favourites; and he courted the friendship of every man, whom disappointment or private resentment had rendered an enemy to the administration. The long truce with France was unpopular with the English, who breathed nothing but war against that hostile nation; and Glocester took care to encourage all the vulgar prejudices which prevailed on this subject. Forgetting the mistortunes which attended the English arms during the later years of

Edward, he made an invidious comparison between

the glories of that reign and the inactivity of the pre-

fent, and he lamented that Richard should have de- "

this dissolute conduct gave him; and finding, that thedukeof

CHAP. his father and his grandfather were distinguished. The military men were inflamed with a defire of war, when they heard him talk of the fignal victories formerly obtained, and of the easy prey which might be made of French riches by the superior valour of the English: The populace readily embraced the fame fentiments: And all men exclaimed that this prince, whose counsels were so much neglected, was the true support of English honour, and alone able to raise the nation to its former power and fplendour. His great abilities, his popular manners, his princely extraction, his immense riches, his high office of conftable w, all these advantages, not a little affifted by his want of court-favour, gave him a mighty authority in the kingdom, and rendered him formidable to Richard and his ministers.

> FROISSARD'S, a contemporary writer and very impartial, but whose credit is somewhat impaired by his want of exactness in material facts, ascribes to the duke of Glocester more desperate views, and fuch as were totally incompatible with the government and domestic tranquility of the nation. According to that historian, he proposed to his nephew, Roger Mortimer earl of Marche, whom Richard? had declared his fuccessor, to give him immediate pollession of the throne, by the deposition of a prince fo unworthy of power and authority: And when Mortimer declined the project, he resolved to make a partition of the kingdom between himself, his two brothers, and the earl of Arundel; and entirely to disposses Richard of the crown. The king, it is faid, being informed of these designs, saw that either his own ruin or that of Glocester was inevitable; and he refolved, by a hasty blow, to prevent the execution of fuch destructive projects. This is certain, that Glocester, by his own consession, had often affected to speak contemptuously of the king's

W Rymer, vol. vii. p. 152.

^{*} Liv. iv. chap. 86.

1397

person and government; had deliberated concern- CHAP. ing the lawfulness of throwing off allegiance to him; and had even born part in a secret conference, where his deposition was proposed, and talked of, and determined y: But it is reasonable to think, that his schemes were not so far advanced as to make him resolve on putting them immediately in execution. The danger, probably, was still too distant to render a desperate remedy entirely necessary for the fecurity of government.

Bur whatever opinion we may form of the danger arising from Glocester's conspiracies, his averfion to the French truce and alliance was public and avowed; and that court, which had now a great influence over the king, pushed him to provide for his own safety, by punishing the traiterous designs of his uncle. The resentment against his former acts of violence revived; the sense of his refractory and uncompliant behaviour was still recent; and a man, whose ambition had once usurped royal authority, and who had murdered all the faithful fervants of the king, was thought capable, on a favourable opportunity, of renewing the fame criminal enterprises. The king's precipitate temper admitted of no deliberation: He ordered Glocester to be unexpectedly arrested; to be hurried on board a ship which was lying in the river; and to be carried over to Calais, where alone, by reason of his numerous partisans, he could safely be detained in custody z. The earls of Arundel and Warwic were felzed at the same time: The malcontents, so sud-

y Cotton, p. 378. Tyrrel, vol. iii. part 2. p 972, from the records. Parliamentary Hiftory, vol. i. p. 473. That this confession was genuine, and obtained without violence, may be entirely depended on. Judge Rickhill, who brought it over from Calais, was tried on that account, and acquitted in the first parliament of Henry IV. when Glocester's party was prevalent. His acquittal, notwithstanding his innocence, may even appear marvellous, confidering the times. See Cotton, p 393.

² Froisfard, liv. iv. chap. 90. Walfing. p. 354.

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CHAP. denly deprived of their leaders, were assonished and overawed: And the concurrence of the dukes of Lancaster and York in those measures, together with the earls of Derby and Rutland, the eldest sons of these princes a, bereaved them of all possibility of resistance.

17th Sept.

A PARLIAMENT was immediately fummoned at Westminster; and the king doubted not to find the peers, and still more the commons, very compliant with his will. This house had in a former parlinment given him very sensible proofs of their attachment*; and the present suppression of Glocester's party-made him Itill more assured of a favourable election. As a farther expedient for that purpose, he is also said to have employed the influence of the sherites; a practice which, though not unufual, gave umbrage, but which the chablished authority of that affembly rendered afterwards still more familiar to the nation. Accordingly the parliament passed whatever acts the king was pleased to dictate to them b: They annulled for ever the commillion which usurped upon the royal authority, and they declared it treasonable to attempt, in any future period, the revival of any fimilar commission :: They abrogated all the acts which attainted the king's ministers, and which that parliament who passed them, and the whote nation, had sworn inviolably to maintain: And they declared the general pardon then granted to be invalid, as extorted by force, and never ratified by the free consent of the king. Though Richard, after he refumed the government, and lay no longer under constraint, had voluntarily, by proclamation, confirmed that general indemnity; this circumstance seemed not,

^{*} See note [E] at the end of the * Rymer, vol. viii. p. 7. volume.

b The noble, brought numerous retainers with them to give them fecurity, as we are told by Walfingham, p. 354. The king had only a few Cheshiremen for his guard.

[•] Statutes at Large, 21 Richard II.

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in their eyes, to merit any consideration. Even a CHAP. particular pardon, granted fix years after to the earl of Arundel, was annulled by parliament; on pretence that it had been procured by furprise, and that the king was not then fully apprifed of the de-

gree of guilt incurred by that nobleman.

THE commons then preferred an impeachment against Fitz-Alan, archbishop of Canterbury, and brother to Arundel, and accused him for his concurrence in procuring the illegal commission, and in attainting the king's ministers. The primate pleaded guilty; but as he was protected by the ecclesiastical privileges, the king was satisfied with a fentence, which banished him the kingdom, and sequestered his temporalities. An appeal or accufation was presented against the duke of Glocester, and the earls of Arundel and Warwic, by the earls of Rutland, Kent, Huntingdon, Somerfet, Salisbury, and Nottingham, together with the lords Spencer and Scrope, and they were accused of the same crimes which had been imputed to the arch-bishop, as well as of their appearance against the king in a hostile manner at Haringay-park. The earl of Arundel, who was brought to the bar, wisely confined all his defence to the pleading of both the general and particular pardon of the king; but his plea being over-ruled, he was condemned and executed. The earl of Warwic, who was also convicted of high treason, was, on account of his submissive behaviour, pardoned as to his life, but doomed to perpetual banishment in the Isle of Man. No new acts of treason were imputed to either of these noblemen. The only crimes, for which they were condemned, were the old attempts against the crown, which feemed to be obliterated, both by the distance of time and by repeated pardons. The

d Cotton, p. 368. chap. 90. Walfing. p. 354. p. 968, from the records.

Elbid. p. 377. Proissard, liv. iv. f Tyrrel, vol. iii, part ii.

XVII. 1397.

CHAP. reasons of this method of proceeding, it is difficult to conjecture. The recent conspiracies of Glocester seem certain from his own confession: But, perhaps, the king and ministry had not at that time in their hands any fatisfactory proof of their reality; perhaps, it was difficult to convict Arundel and Warwic of any participation in them; perhaps, an inquiry into these compiracies would have involved in the guilt some of those great noblemen who now concurred with the crown, and whom it was necessary to cover from all imputation; or perhaps the king, according to the genius of the age, was indifferent about maintaining even the appearance of law and equity, and was only folicitous by any means to ensure success in these prosecutions. This point, like many others in ancient history, we are obliged to leave altogether undetermined.

Murder of thedukcof Glocester.

A WARRANT was issued to the carl mareschal, governor of Calais, to bring over the duke of Glocester, in order to his trial; but the governor returned for answer, that the duke had died suddenly of an apoplexy in that fortress. Nothing could be more suspicious, from the time, than the circumflances of that prince's death: It became immediately the general opinion, that he was murdered by orders from his nephew: In the subsequent reign undoubted proofs were produced in parliament, that he had been suffocated with pillows by his keepers?. And it appeared that the king, apprehensive lest the public trial and execution of so popular a prince, and so near a relation, might prove both dangerous and invidious, had taken this base method of gratifying, and, as he fancied, concealing his revenge upon him. Both parties, in their successive triumphs, feem to have had no farther concern than that of retaliating upon their adversaries; and nei-. ther of them were aware, that, by imitating, they indirectly justified, as far as it lay in their power, all the illegal violence of the opposite party.

⁵ Cotton, p. 399, 400. Dugdale, vol. ii. p 171.

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THIS session concluded with the creation or ad- C HAP. vancement of feveral peers: The earl of Derby was made duke of Hereford; the earl of Rutland, duke of Albemarle; the earl of Kent, duke of Surrey; the earl of Huntingdon, duke of Exeter; the earl of Nottingham, duke of Norfolk; the carl of Somerset, marquis of Dorset; lord Spenser, earl of Glocester; Ralph Nevil, earl of Westmoreland; Thomas Piercy, earl of Worcester; William Scrope, earl of Wiltshire h. The parliament, after a session of twelve days, was adjourned to Shrewsbury. The king, before the departure of the members, exacted from them an oath for the perpetual maintenance and establishment of all their acts; an oath similar to that which had formerly been required by the duke of Glocester and his party, and which had already proved so vain and fruitless:

BOTH king and parliament met in the same dispositions at Shrewsbury. So anxious was Richard 18th Jan. for the fecurity of these acts, that he obliged the lords and commons to fwear anew to them on the cross of Canterbury; and he soon after procured a bull from the pope, by which they were, as he imagined, perpetually secured and established k. The parliament, on the other hand, conferred on him for life the duties on wool, wool-fells, and leather, and granted him, besides, a subsidy of one tenth and a half, and one fifteenth and a half. They also reversed the attainder of Tresilian and the other judges, and, with the approbation of the present judges, declared the answers, for which these magistrates had been impeached, to be just and legal: And they carried so far their retrospect, as to reverse, on the petition of lord Spenser, 'earl of Glocester, the attainder pronounced against the two Spenfers in the reign of Edward II. The ancient history of England is nothing but a catalogue of re-

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h Cotton, p. 374, 371.

k Walfing. p. 355.

En Cotton, p 372.

¹ lbid. p. 371.

¹ Statutes at Large, 21 Richi II.

versals.

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C II A P. verfals: Every thing is in fluctuation and movement: One faction is continually undoing what was effablished by another: And the multiplied oaths, which each party exacted for the security of the present acts, betray a perpetual consciousness of their instability.

> THE parliament, before they were diffolved, elected a committee of twelve lords and fix commoners", whom they invelled with the whole power both of lords and commons, and endowed with full authority to finith all business which had been laid before the houses, and which they had not had leifure to bring to a conclusion. This was an unusual concession; and though it was limited in the object, might, either immediately or as a precedent, have proved dangerous to the conflitution: But the cause of that extraordinary measure was an event singular and unexpected, which expliged the attention of the par-Lament.

> Arran the destruction of the duke of Glocetter and the heads of that party, a milanderstanding broke out among those noblemen who had joined in the profecution; and the king wanted either au'hority fufficient to appeafe it, or forefight to prevent it. dake of Hereford appeared in parliament, and accused the dake of Norfolk of having spoken to him, in private, many slanderous words of the king, and having imputed to that prince an intention of fubverting and destroying many of his principal nobility i. Morfolk denied the charge, gave Hereford the lie, and offered to prove his own innocence by duel.

n The names of the commissioners were, the duties of Lancaster, York, Albertaile, Surrey, and Exeter; the margus of Dorlet; the early of Nively, talabery, Northumberland, Glocester, Winchester, and Whichire; John Baffey, Henry G., n. J. ba Rafiel, Robert Teyne, heary Chelin twicke, and John Golor e. It is to be remarked, that the dake of Lancafter plways concurred with the reft in all their proceeding, even in the bannle nent of his fon, which was aft in ords to much ecomplained or.

Cotton, p. 272. Walfing, p. 35...

P Cotton, p. 372. Parliamentar, linkory vol. 1, p.

17.8.

The challenge was accepted: The time and place CHAP. of combat were appointed: And as the event of this important trial by arms might require the interpolition of legislative authority, the parliament thought it more littable to delegate their power to a committee, than to prolong the fession beyond the usual time which cultime and general convenience had preferibed to it 4.

The duke of Hereford was certainly very list's delicate in the point of honour, when he revealed a private convertation to the rain of the parameter had entrufted him; and we may thenes be more inclined to believe the duke of Normal's denim, than the other's all veration. But I in I had in chefe transactions betrayed an equal neglect of hisnour, which brings him entacks on the lawith his amageniti. Though he had provide eighted with the duke of Gh coder and blag laty in all the former acts of violence against the lang; and the mana flands among the epochaics who accused the duke of heland and the other ministers; yet was he not athained publicly to imposely Lie teleacr all states for the very crimes will's be had concurred with them in committing; and his name increases the lift of those appellant, who brought them to a titch. Such were the principles and practices or those anclent knights and basons during the prevalence of the arifformical government, and the migh of chivaliv.

The lists for this direction of truth and right were appointed at Coventry before the king: All the nobibity of England bundled into parties, and adhered either to the one dake or the other: The whole nation was held in suspen a with regard to the event: But when the two champions appeared in the field, ac-

In the first year of Henry VI. when the authority of parliament was great, and when that affembly could leaft be suspected of lying Interviolence, a like or reallon was made to the privy council, from car metives of concements. See Cotton, p. 564.

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CHAP. coutred for the combat, the king interposed, to prevent both the present effusion of such noble blood, and the future consequences of the quarrel. By the advice and authority of the parliamentary commissioners he stopped the duel; and to shew his impartiality, he ordered, by the same authority, both the combatants to leave the kingdom'; affigning one country for the place of Norfolk's exile, which he declared perpetual; another for that of Hereford, which he limited to ten years.

HEREFORD was a man of great prudence and command of temper; and he behaved himself with fo much submission in these delicate circumstances, that the king, before his departure, promifed to shorten the term of his exile four years; and he also granted him letters patent, by which he was empowered, in case any inheritance should in the interval accrue to him, to enter immediately in possession, and to posspone the doing of homage till his return.

Banistiment of Henry duke of Hereford.

THE weakness and sluctuation of Richard's counfels appear no where more evident than in the conduct of this affair. No sooner had Hereford left the kingdom, than the king's jealoufy of the power and riches of that prince's family revived; and he was sensible, that, by Glocester's death, he had only removed a counterpoise to the Lancastrian interest, which was now become formidable to his crown and Being informed that Hereford had enkingdom. tered into a treaty of marriage with the daughter of the duke of Berry, uncle to the French king, he determined to prevent the finishing of an alliance which would fo much extend the interest of his cousin in foreign countries; and he sent over the earl of Salisbury to Paris with a commission for that purpose. The death of the duke of Lancaster, which happened foon after, called upon him to take

.₩ 1399• 3d Feb.

2 Cotton, p. 380. Walfingham, p. 356.

new resolutions with regard to that opulent suc- CHAP. cession. The present duke, in consequence of the XVII. king's patent, desired to be put in possession of the estate and jurisdictions of his father: But Richard,

afraid of strengthening the hands of a man whom he had already fo much offended, applied to the parliamentary commissioners, and persuaded them,

that this affair was but an appendage to that business

which the parliament had delegated to them. By their authority he revoked his letters patent, and

retained possession of the estate of Lancaster: And

by the same authority he seized and tried the duke's attorney, who had procured and infifted on the letters,

and he had him condemned as a traitor, for faithfully executing that trust to his master'. An extrava-

gant act of power! even though the king changed,

in favour of the attorney, the penalty of death into

that of banishment.

HENRY, the new duke of Lancaster, had acquired, by his conduct and abilities, the esteem of the public; and having ferved with distinction against the infidels in Lithuania, he had joined to his other praises those of piety and valour, virtues which have at all times a great influence over mankind, and were, during those ages, the qualities chiefly held in estimation. He was connected with most of the principal nobility by blood, alliance, or friendthip; and as the injury done him by the king might in its consequences affect all of them, he easily brought them, by a sense of common interest, to take part in his resentment. The people, who must have an object of assection, who found nothing in the king's person which they could love or revere, and who were even disgusted with many parts of his conduct", eafily transferred to Henry that attach.

Walfingham, p.443.

demnity :

^{*} Tyrrel, vol. iii. part 2. p. 991, from the records.

u He levied fines upon those who had ten years before joined the dake of Glocester and his party: They were obliged to pay him money, before he would allow them to enjoy the benefit of the in? \mathbf{D}_3

C H A P. attachment, which the death of the duke of Glocester had lest without any fixed direction. His misfertunes were lamented; the injullice which he had fuffered was complained of; and all men turned their eyes towards him, as the only perfor that could retrieve the lott honour of the nation, or redrefs the supposed abutes in the government.

Retuines Henry.

€* + }12 V.

While tuch were the dispositions of the people, Richard had the imprudence to calbark for Ireland, in order to revenge the death of his cenfin, Roger earl of Marche, the prefumptive heir of the crown, who had levely been flain in a fkirmith by the natives; and he thereby iff the kingdom of England open to the attempts of his provoked and ambitious enemy. Henry, embarling at Nantz with a retinue of, factor prient, among whom were the archbifhep of Canterbury and the coung carl of Arundel, nepher to that prelate, leaded at Ravenfour in Yorkshire: and was immedically joined by the earls of Northumber and and Wellmoreland. two of the most potent barons in England. Here he took a foleinn oath, that he had no other purpose in this invasion,, than to recover the dutchy of Lancaster, unjustly detained from Lim: and he invited all his triends in England, and all lovers of their country, 'to fecond him in this reafonable and moderate pretension. Every place was in commotion: The malcontents in all quarters flew to arms; Leadon discovered the strongest symptoms of its disposition to mutiny and rebellion: And Henry's army, increasing on every day's march, soon amounted to the number of 60,000 combatants.

General riounics-

THE duke of York was left guardian of the realm; a place to which his birth intitled him, but

demnity; and in the articles of charge against lim, it is afferted, that the payment of one fine did not fuffice. It is indeed likely, that his minifor would abuse the power put into their bands; and this griev-Ance extended to very many people. Hittor an agree in representing 41 partice as a great oppression. See Otterbourne, p. 199.

which

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which both his slender abilities, and his natural con- CHAP. nexions with the duke of Lancatter, rendered him utterly incapable of filling in fuch a dangerous emergency. Such of the chief nobility as were attached to the crown, and could either have seconded the guardian's good intentions, c have overawed his infidelity, had attended the king into Ireland; and the efforts of Richard's friends were every where more feeble than those of his enemies. The duke of York, however, appointed the rendezvous of his forces at St. Albans, and foon affembled an army of 40,000 men; but found them entirely destitute of zeal and attachment to the royal cause, and more inclined to join the party of the rebels. He hearkened therefore very readily to a message from Henry who entreated him not to oppose a loyal and

ble . plicant in the recovery of his legal patr nv; and the guardian even declared publicly that he would fecond his nephew in fo reatonable a request. His army embraced with acclamations the same measures; and the duke of Lancaster, reinforced by them, was now entirely mafter of the kingdom. He hastened to Britiol, into which some of the king's ministers had thrown thouselves; and foon obliging that place to furrender, he yielded to the popular wishes, and without giving them a trial, or cred the earl of Wiltshire, sir John Bussy, and in Henry Green, whom he ther took pritoners, to be led to immediate execution.

THE king, receiving intelligence of this invalion and infurrection, haftened over from Ireland, and landed in Milford Haven with a body of 20,000 men: But even this army, so much inferior to the enemy, was either overawed by the general combination of the kingdom, or seized with the same spirit of disassection; and they gradually deserted him, till he found that he had not above occomen who followed his standard. It appeared, therefore, necessary to retire secretly from this small body,

kit Sept.

CHAP. which ferved only to expose him to danger; and he fled to the isle of Anglesca, where he purposed to embark either for Ireland or France, and there await the favourable opportunities which the return of his subjects to a sense of duty, or their suture discontents against the duke of Lancaster, would probably afford him. Henry, sensible of the danger, fent to him the earl of Northumberland with the strongest professions of loyalty and submission; and that nobleman, by treachery and false oaths, made himself master of the king's person, and carried him to his enemy at Flint Castle, Richard was conducted to London, by the duke of Lancafter, who was there received with the acclamations of the mutinous populace. It is pretended that the recorder met him on the road, and in the name of the city, entreated him, for the public lafety, to put Richard to death, with all his adherents who were prisoners w; but the duke prudently determined to make many others participate in his guilt, before he would proceed to those extremities. For this purpose, he issued writs of election in the king's name, and appointed the immediate meeting of a parliament at Westminster.

> Such of the peers as were most devoted to the king, were either fled or imprisoned; and no opponents, even among the barons, dared to appear against Henry, amidst that scene of outrage and violence, which commonly attends revolutions, especially in England during those turbulent ages. It is also casy to imagine, that a house of commons, elected during this universal ferment, and this triumph of the Lancastrian party, would be extremely attached to that cause, and ready to second every fuggestion of their leaders. That order, being as yet of too little weight to stem the torrent, was al-

> > Walfingham.

ways carried along with it, and ferved only to in- CHAP. crease the violence, which the public interest required it should endeavour to control. The duke of Lancaster, therefore, sensible that he should be Deposientirely mafter, began to carry his views to the ing. crown itself; and he deliberated with his partisans concerning the most proper means of essecting his daring purpose. He first extorted a resignation from Richard'; but as he knew that this deed would plainly appear the refult of force and fear, he also purposed, notwithstanding the danger of the prece- 28th Sept. dent to himself and his posterity, to have him solemnly deposed in parliament, for his pretended tyranny and misconduct. A charge, confisting of thirty-three articles, was accordingly drawn up against him, and presented to that assembly y.

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If we examine these articles, which are expressed with extreme acrimony against Richard, we shall find that, except fome rash speeches which are imputed to him', and of whose reality, as they are said to have passed in private conversation, we may reafonably entertain fome doubt; the chief amount of the charge is contained in his violent conduct during the two last years of his reign, and naturally divides itself into two principal heads. The first and most confiderable is the revenge which he took on the princes and great barons, who had formerly usurped, and still persevered in controlling and threatening, his authority; the fecond is the violation of the laws and general privileges of his people. But the former, however irregular in many of its circumstances, was fully supported by authority of parliament, and was but a copy of the violence-which the princes and barons themselves, during their former triumph, had exercised against him and his party.

^{*} Knyghton, p. 2744. Otterbourne, pe 212. y Tyrrel, vel. iii. part 2. p. 1008, from the records. Knyghton, p. 2746. Otterbourne, p. 214. 2 Art. 16, 25.

CT NYIL The detention of Lancaster's estate was, properly speaking, a revocation, by parliamentary authority, of a grace, which the king himself had formerly granted him. The murder of Glocester (for the tecret execution, however merited, of that prince, certainly deserves this appellation) was a private deed, formed not any precedent, and implied not any usurped or arbitrary power of the crown, which could justly give umbrage to the people. It really proceeded from a desect of power in the king, rather than from his ambition; and proves that instead of being dangerous to the constitution, he possessed not even the authority necessary for the execution of the laws.

Concerning the fecond head of acculation, as it mostly confill of general sacts, was framed by Richard's inveterate enemies, and was never allowed to be answered by I im or his friends, it is more difficult to form a judgment. The greater part of these grievances, imputed to Richard, seems to be the excition of arbitrary prerogatives; fuch as the dispensing power, levying purveyance h. employing the marshal's court's, extorting loans's, granting protections from law-suits'; prerogatives which, though often complained of, had often been exerciled by his predeceffors, and still continued to be to be his fuccesfors. But whether his irregular acts If this kind were more frequent, and injudicious, and violent than usual, or were only laid hold of and exaggerated by the factions to which the weakness of his reign had given birth, we are not able, at this distance, to determine with certainty. There is, however, one circumtlance in which his conduct is visibly different from that of his grandsather: He is not accused of having imposed one arbitrary tax, without confent of parliament, during his whole

² Ait. 72, 37, 18 5 Ait. 22 6 Ait. 27. 4 Art. 17. 6 Art. 16.

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reign : Scarcely a year passed during the reign of CHAP. Edward, which was free from complaints with regard to this dangerous exertion of authority. But, perhaps, the afcendant which Edward had acquired over the people, together with his great prudence, enabled him to make a use very advantageous to his subjects of this and other arbitrary prerogatives, and rendered them a finaller grievance in his hands, than a less absolute authority in those of his grandfon. This is a point which it would be rash for us to decide positively on either side; but it is certain, that a charge drawn up by the duke of Lancaster, and affented to by a parliament fituated in those circumstances, forms no manner of presumption with regard to the unufual irregularity or violence of the king's conduct in this particular ?.

Willis the charge against Richard was presented to the parliament though it was liable, almost in every article, to objections, it was not canvaffed, nor examined, nor disputed in either house, and scened to be received with universal approbation. One man alone, the bishop of Carlisle, had the courage, amidíl this general disloyalty and violence, to appear in delence of his unhappy master, and to plead his cause against all the power of the prevailing party. Though fome topics, employed by that virtuous piclate, may from to favour too much the destrine of passive obedience, and to make too large a facrifice of the rights of mankind; he was naturally pushed into that extreme by his abhorrence of the present licentious sactions; and such intrepidity, as well as difinterestedness of behaviour, proves, that

f We learn from Cotton, p. 362, that the king, by his chancellor, told the commens, that they were funderly bound to hom, and non ely in forbea ing to charge them with hijnes and theen, the wellich he me out no more to charge time in his occuperfon. Thefe words no more allude to the practice of his predeceilors: He had not hunfelf imposed any arbitrary taxes: I ven the narlament in the articles of his deposition, though they complain of heavy taxes, affirm not that they were inposed illegally or by activery will.

s See note it just the end of the column.

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C H A P. whatever his speculative principles were, his heart was elevated far above the meanness and abject submission of a slave. He represented to the parliament, that all the abuses of government which could justly be imputed to Richard, instead of amounting to tyranny, were merely the result of error, youth, or misguided counsel, and admitted of a remedy, more eafy and falutary than a total subversion of the constitution. That even had they been much more violent and dangerous than they really were, they had chiefly proceeded from former examples of refistance, which, making the prince sensible of his precarious fituation, had obliged him to establish his throne by irregular and arbitrary expedients. That a rebellious disposition in subjects was the principal cause of tyranny-in kings: Laws could never secure the subject, which did not give security to the sove-reign: And if the maxim of inviolable loyalty which formed the basis of the English government, were once rejected, the privileges belonging to the several orders of the state, instead of being fortified by that licentiousness, would thereby lose the surest foundation of their force and stability. That the parliamentary deposition of Edward II. far from making a precedent which could control this maxim, was only an example of successful violence; and it was sufficiently to be lamented, that crimes were fo often committed in the world, without establish. ing principles which might jullify and authorife them. That even that precedent, false and dangerous as it was, could never warrant the present excesses, which were fo much greater, and which would entail distraction and misery on the nation, to the latest posterity. That the succession, at least, of the crown, was then preserved inviolate: The lineal heir was placed on the throne: And the people had an opportunity, by their legal obedience to him, of making atonement for the violence which they had committed against his predecessor. That a descendant of Lionel

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Luke of Clarence, the elder brother of the late duke C H A P. of Lancaster, had been declared in parliament successor to the crown: He had left posterity: And their title, however it might be overpowered by present force and faction, could never be obliterated from the minds of the people. That if the turbulent disposition alone of the nation had overturned the well-cstablished throne of so good a prince as Richard; what bloody commotions must ensue, when the same cause was united to the motive of restoring the legal and undoubted heir to his authority? That the new government, intended to be established, would stand on no principle; and would scarcely retain any pretence, by which it could challenge the obedience of men of sense and virtue. That the claim of lineal descent was so gross as scarcely to deceive the most ignorant of the populace: Conquest could never be pleaded by a rebel against his fovereign: The confent of the people had no authority in a monarchy not derived from consent, but established by hereditary right; and however the nation might be justified in deposing the misguided Richard, it could never have any reason for setting aside his lawful heir and successor, who was plainly innocent. And that the duke of Lancaster would give them but a bad specimen of the legal moderation which might be expected from his future government, if he added to the crime of his past rebellion, the guilt of excluding the family, which, both by right of blood, and by declaration of parliament, would, in case of Richard's demile, or voluntary refignation, have been received as the undoubted heirs of the monarchy h.

All the circumstances of this event, compared to those which attended the late revolution in 1688, show the difference between a great and civilized nation, deliberately vindicating its established privi-

Sir John Heywarde, p. 101.

C HAP. leges, and a turbulent and barbarous aristocracy, plunging headlong from the extremes of one faction into those of another. This noble freedom of the bishop of Carlisle, instead of being applauded, was not to much as tolerated: He was immediately arrested, by order of the duke of Lancasier, and sent a prisoner to the abbey of St. Albans. No farther debate was attempted: Thirty-three long articles of charge were, in one meeting, voted against Richard; and voted unanimously by the same peers and prelates who a little before had voluntarily and unanimously, authorised those very acts of violence of which they now complained. That prince was deposed by the fusirages of both houses; and the throne being now vacant, the duke of Lancaster stepped forth, and having crossed himself on the Firehead and on the breait, and called upon the name of Christ', he pronounced these words, which we shall give in the original language, because of their fingularity:

> In the name of Fadher, Son, and Holy Ghoft, I Henry of Lancaner challenge this rewme of Vingiande, and the croun, with all the membres, and the appurtenances; als I that am descendit by right line of the blade, coming fro the gode king Henry thorde, and throse that right that God of his grace hath fent me, with heipe of kyn, and of my frendes to recover it; the which rewme was in poynt to be ondone by defaut of governance, and ondoying of the gude lawes ".

> In order to understand this speech, it must be obferved, that there was a filly flory, received among fome of the lowest vulgar, that Edmond carl of Lancatter, fon of Henry III. was really the elder brother of Edward I.; but that, by reason of some deformity in his person, he had been postponed in the fuccession, and his younger brother imposed on the

nation in his stead. As the present duke of Lan- CHAP. caster inherited from Edmond by his mother, this genealogy made him the true heir of the monarchy; and it is therefore infinuated in Henry's speech: But the abfurdity was too groß to be openly avowed cither by him or by the parliament. The case is the tame with regard to his right of conquest: He was a subject who rebelled against his sovereign: Heentered the kingdom with a retinue of no more than axty perfons: He could not the econqueror of England; and this right is accordingly inunuated, not an owed. Still there is a third claim derived from his merits in faving the nation from tyranny and oppression; and this claim is all richinnied: But as it feemed, by its nature, better eat culated is a reason for his belief it 7 ded king by a the choice, then for giving the daminimized design of policilion, he durit not by the expansy even on the could hand to obtain any or the not election, he shallenges the cross not the on. Ther by acquirit n er inheritance. The Albert Les Inch a ficee of ragon and nontenfe, as is allest without examples 215 objection, however, and made to it in painsment: The unmired as a stable land commonplaced Henry on the darker. He became lang, noa dy could tell how the construct. The title of the Louie of Merel ; for early in guized by parlia-a ent, was neither invalidited in respealed; but piffed over in istal factor in a Lidas a concern for the liberties of the people from to have had no hand in this revolution, their tight to differ of the geverment, as well as all their ther privileges, was left precifily on the hane feetler as before. But Henry having, when he claimed the crown, dropped lome obleure liint concerning conquest, which, ir was thought, might endanger these privileges, he toon after made a public declaration, that he did not thereby intend to deprive any one of his franchites

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CHAP. or liberties!: Which was the only circumstance, where we shall find meaning or common sense, in all these transactions.

> THE fubscquent events discover the same headlong violence of conduct, and the same rude notions of civil government. The deposition of Richard disfolved the parliament: It was necessary to fundmon a new one: And Henry, in fix days after, called together, without any new election, the fame members; and this assembly he denominated a new parliament. They were employed in the usual task of reverfing every deed of the opposite party. All the acts of the last parliament of Richard, which had been confirmed by their oaths, and by a papal bull, were abrogated: All the acts which had passed in the parliament where Glocester prevailed, which had also been confirmed by their oaths, but which had been abrogated by Richard, were anew established "... The answers of Tresilian, and the other judges, which a parliament had annulled, but which a new parliament, and new judges, had approved, here received a fecond condemnation. The peers who had accufed Glocester, Arundel, and Warwic, and who had received higher titles for that piece of service, were all of them degraded from their new dignities: Even the practice of profecuting appeals in parliament, which bore the air of a violent confederacy against an individual, rather than of a legal indictment, was wholly abolished; and trials were restored to the course of common law. The natural effect of this conduct was to render the people giddy with fuch rapid and perpetual changes, and to make them lose all notions of right and wrong in the measures of government.

23d Q&.

THE carl of Northumberland made a motion, in the house of peers, with regard to the unhappy

¹ Knyghton, p. 2759. Otterbourne, p. 220.

^{*} Cotton, p. 390. n Henry IV. cap. 14.

prince whom they had deposed. He asked them CHAP. what advice they would give the king for the future treatment of him; fince Henry was refolved to spare his life. They unanimously replied, that he should be imprisoned under a secure guard, in some keret place, and should be deprived of all commerce with any of his friends or partilans. It was easy to forefee, that he would not long remain afive in the hands of fuch barbarous and tanguinary enemies. Hittorians differ with regard to the mamer in which he was murdered. It was long the prevailing opinion, Murder of that fir Piers Exton, and others of his guards, fell the king. upon him in the castle of Pomfret, where he was confined, and dispatched him with their halberts. Dut it is more probable, that he was starved to death in priton; and after all fuftenance was denied him, he prolonged his unhappy life, it is faid, for a fortnight, before he reached the end of his miserics. This account is more confistent with the story, that his body was exposed in public, and that no marks of violence were observed upon it. He died in the thirty-sourch year of his age, and she twerty-third of his reign. He left no posterity, either legitimate or illegitimate.

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Littory of Richard, lived during the reigns of the ratter. Lancattrian princes; and candour requires, that we thould not give entire credit to the reproaches which they have thrown upon his memory. But, after making all proper allowances, he still appears to have been a weak prince, and unfit for government, less for want of natural parts and capacity, than of folid judgment and a good education. He was violent in his temper; profuse in his expence; fond of ide show and magnificence; devoted to favourites; and addicted to pleasure: Passions, all of them, the most inconsistent with a prudent economy,

confequently dangerous in a limited and mixed go-

vernment. Had he possessed the talents of gaining,

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All the writers, who have transmitted to us the His cita-

XVII. 1399.

CHAP, and still more those of overawing, his great barons, he might have escaped all the misfortunes of his reign, and been allowed to carry much farther his oppressions over the people, if he really was guilty of any, without their daring to rebel, or even to murmur against him. But when the grandees were tempted by his want of prudence and of vigour, to refilt his authority, and execute the most violent enterprises upon him, he was naturally led to seek an opportunity of retaliation; justice was neglected; the lives of the chief nobility were facrificed; and all these enormities seem to have proceeded less from a settled design of establishing arbitrary power, than from the infolence of victory, and the necessities of the king's fituation. The manners indeed of the age were the chief fource of fuch violence: Laws, which were feebly executed in peaceable times, loft all their authority during public convulsions: Both parties were alike guilty: Or if any difference may be remarked between them, we shall find, that the authority of the crown, being more legal, was commonly carried, when it prevailed, to less desperate extremities than was that of the aristocracy.

On comparing the conduct and events of this reign, with those of the preceding, we shall find equal reason to admire Edward, and to blame Richard; but the circumstance of opposition, furely, will not lie in the strict regard paid by the former to national privileges, and the neglect of them by the latter. On the contrary, the prince of small abilities, as he felt his want of power, feems to have been more moderate in this respect than the other. Every parliament assembled during the reign of Edward, remonitrates against the exertion of some arbitrary prerogative or other: We hear not any complaints of that kind during the reign of Richard, till the affembling of his last parliament, which was fummoned by his inveterate enemies, which dethroned him, which framed their complaints during the time

of the most furious convulsions, and whose testimony CHAP. must therefore have, on that account, much less authority with every equitable judge ". Both these princes experienced the encroachments of the Great upon their authority. Edward, reduced to necessities, was obliged to make an express bargain with his parliament, and to tell some of his prerogatives for present supply; but as they were acquainted with his genius and capacity, they ventured not to demand any exorbitant concessions, or such as were incompatible with regal and fovereign power: The weakness of Richard tempted the parliament to extort a commission, which, in a manner, dethroned the prince, and transferred the sceptre into the hands of the nobility. The events of these encroachments were also suitable to the character, of each. Edward had no fooner gotten the fapply, than he departed from the engagements which had induced the parliament to grant it; he openly told his people, that he had but diffimbled with them when he seemed to make them these concessions; and he refumed and retained all his preregatives. Richard, because he was detected in consulting and deliberating with the judges on the lawfulness of restoring the constitution, found his barons immediately in arms against him; was deprived of his liberty; saw his savourites, his ministers, his tutor, butchered before his face, or banished and attainted; and was obliged to give way to all this violence. There cannot be a more remarkable contrast between the fortunes of two princes: It were happy for fociety, did this contrast always depend on the justice or injustice of the measures which men embrace; and not rather on the different degrees of prudence and vigour with which those measures are sup-

ported.

Perufe, in this view, the abridgment of the records, by fir Ro-Bert Cotton, during these two reigns.

XVII. the Isometrian countries the time the time time time time time time time.

There was a fensible decay of ecclesiastical authority during this period. The disgust, which the laity had received from the numerous usurpations both of the court of Rome, and of their own clergy, had very much weaned the kingdom from superstition; and strong symptoms appeared, from time to time, of a general desire to shake off the bondage of the Romish church. In the committee of eighteen, to whom Richard's last parliament delegated their whole power, there is not the name of one ecclesiastic to be found; a neglect which is almost without example, while the catholic religion substited in England.

The aversion entertained against the established church foon found principles and tenets and reasonings, by which it could juffify and support infelf. John Wickliffe, a fecular priest, educated at Oxford, began in the latter end of Edward III. to spread the doctrine of reformation by his discourses, fermons, and writings; and he made many disciples among men of all rayles and stations. He seems to have been a man of parts and learning; and has the honour of being the first person in Europe, that publicly called in question those principles, which had universally passed for certain and undispute ! during lo many ages. Wicklisse himself, as well as his difciples, who received the name of Wicklithtes, or Lollards, was diffinguished by a great austerity of life and manners; a circumstance common to almost all those who dogmatize in any new way; both because men, who draw to them the attention of the public, and expose themselves to the odium of great multitudes, are obliged to be very guarded in their conduct, and because few, who have a strong propensity to pleasure or business, will enter upon so difficult and laborious an undertaking. The doctrines of Wickliffe, being derived from his fearch

P See note | G] at the cad of the volume.

139,.

into the scriptures and into ecclesiastical antiquity, C II A P. XVII. were nearly the fame with those which were propagated by the reformers in the fixteenth century: He only carried some of them farther than was done by the more fober part of these reformers. He denied the doctrine of the real presence, the supremacy of the church of Rome, the merit of monastic vows: He maintained, that the scriptures were the sole rule of taith; that the church was dependant on the flate, and should be referred by it; that the clergy ought to policis no ellates; that the begging friars were a nuilance, and ought not to be supported 9; that the rum reus ceremonies of the church were hurtful to true plate: He afferted, that oaths were unlawful, that Commission was founded in grace, that every thing was judgect to fite and defliny, and that all man were preordained either to eternal falvation or reprobation. Fr in the whole of his descrines, Wichitie appears to have been firoughly thedured with enthulialm, and to have been thereby the better qualified to oppose a church, whose chief characterillie is uperstition.

This repagation of these principles gave great alarm to the clergy; and a bull was issued by pope Gregory M. for taking Wickliffe into guitody, and examining into the scope of his opinions'. Courtency, bithop of London, cited him before his tribunal; but the reformer had now acquired powerful protectors, who dereened him from the ecclefiattical jurisdiction. The duke of Lancaster, who then governed the kingdom, encouraged the principles of Wickline; and he made no feruple, as well as lord Piercy, the mareschal, to appear openly in court with him, in order to give him countenance upon his trial: He even infifted that Wickliffe should sit in the bishop's presence, while his principles were

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examined;

Walfingham, p. 191, 203, 283, 284 Spelman, Concil. vol. ii. p. 630. Knyghton, p. 2657. ¹ Harp.field, p. 663, 673, 674. Waldenf. tom. i. lib. 3. art. 1. cap. 8. 5. Spelm. Conc. vol. ii. p. 621. Walfingham, p. 201, 202, 203.

XVII. 1399.

CHAP. examined: Courteney exclaimed against the insult: The Londoners, thinking their prelate affronted, attacked the duke and marefehal, who escaped from their hands with some difficulty. And the populace, foon after, broke into the houses of both these noblemen, threatened their persons, and plundered their goods. The bithep of London had the merit

of appealing their fury and relentment.

THE duke of Lancaster, however, still continued his protection to Wickliffe during the minority of Richard; and the principles of that reformer had for far propagated themselves, that, when the pope sent to Oxford a new bull against these doctrines, the university deliberated for some time, whether they should receive the bull; and they never took any vigorous measures in consequence of the papal orders ". Even the populace of London were at length brought to entertain favourable sentiments of this reformer: When he was cited before a fynod at Lambeth, they broke into the affembly, and for overawed the prelates, who found both the people and the court against them, that they dismissed him without any farther censure.

The clergy, we may well believe, were more wanting in power than in inclination to punish this new herefy, which struck at all their credit, posselsions, and authority. But there was hitherto no law in England, by which the fecular arm was authorifed to support orthodoxy; and the ecclesiastics endeavoured to supply the defect by an extraordinary and unwarrantable artifice. In the year 1381, there was an act passed, requiring sherists to apprehend the preachers of herefy and their abettors; but this statute had been furreptitiously obtained by the clergy, and had the formality of an enrolment without the consent of the commons. In the subsequent session the lower house complained of the fraud; affirmed, that they had no intention to bind themselves to

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u Wood's Ant. Oxon. * Harpsfield in Hist. Wickl. p. 683. lib. i. p. 191, &c. Walfingham, p. 201.

the prelates farther than their ancestors had done be- C H A P. fore them; and required that the pretended statute should be repealed; which was done accordingly w. But it is remarkable that, notwiththanding this vigilance of the commons, the clergy had so much art

and influence that the repeal was suppressed; and the act, which never had any legal authority, remains to this day upon the flatute-book*: Though the clergy still thought proper to keep it in referve, and not proceed to the immediate execution of it. Bur, besides this detect of power in the church, which faved Wickliffe, that reformer himfelf, notwithstanding his enthusiasm, seems not to have been actuated by the spirit of martyrdom; and, in all fublequent trials before the prelates, he so explained

away his doctrine by tortured meanings as to render it quite innocent and inoffentive. Most of his followers imitated his cautious disposition, and saved themselves either by recantations or explanations. He died of a palfy, in the year 1384, at his rectory of Lutterworth, in the county of Leitcher; and the clergy, mortified that he should lave escaped their vengeance, took care, besides assuring the people of his eternal damnation, to represent his last distemper as a visible judgment of heaven upon him for his

THE profelytes, however, of Wicklisse's opinions fill increased in England :: Some monkish writers represent one half of the kingdom as infected by those principles: They were carried over to Bohemia by some youth of that nation, who studied at Oxford: But though the age feemed strongly difposed to receive them, affairs were not yet fully ripe for this great revolution; and the finishing blow to ecclesiastical power was reserved to a period of more curiofity, literature, and inclination for novelties.

multiplied herefies and impieties.

W Cotton's Abridgment, p. 285. * 5 Rich. II. chap. 5. y Walfingham, p. 206. Krighton, p. 2655, 2656. 2 Walfingham, p. 312. Ypod. Neuft. p. 337. * Knyghton, p. 2063. MEANWHILE

E II A P. XVII. #399.

Meanwhile the English parliament continued is check the clergy and the court of Rome, by more fober and more legal expedients. They enacted anew the flatute of providers, and affixed higher penalties to the transgredion of it, which, in some inflances; was even made capital. The court of Rome had fallen upon a new device, which increased their anthority over the prelates: The pape, who found that the expedient of arbitrarily depairing them was violent and liable to opposition, attained the fame end, by transferring fuch of them as were observious to poorer fees, and even to nomin diffees, in firm the inflactium. It was thus that the most illion or York, and the bifhers of Dutham and Cincletter, the king's ministers, had been treated abortio movidence of Glocetter's faction: We with most Carries mor win the same fate ther the access not Heaville for the pope always joined with the prevailing povers when they aid not through his pretentions. The proliament, in the reign of ki hard, emected a law against this abult: And the kins made a general remonstrance to see ourt of Rome against all these usurpations which he calls, herrible excepts of that court .

Ir was usual for the church, that they might clude the mortamin act, to make their votaries leave lands in trust to certain persons, under whose name the clergy enjoyed the benefit of the bequest: The parliament also stopped the progress of this abuse. In the 17th of the king, the commons prayed, that remedy might be had against such religious persons as emple their religious to marry free reamen inheritable, rehereby the estate comes to those religious hands by collusion. This was a new device of the clergy.

The papacy was, at this time, somewhat weakened by a schism, which lasted during forty years,

b 13 Rich. II. cap. 3. 16 Rich. II. cap. 4. • Rymer, vol vii p. 672. • Enyghton, p. 27. 38. • Cetton, p. 355.

grad gave great feardal to the devoted partifans of CHAP. the noly see. After the pape had resided many XVII. vents at Avignon, Gregory M. was perfuaded to return to Rome; and upon his death, which hapneared in 1380, the Romans, refolute to fix. for the rutine, the feat of the papacy in Italy, belieged the curdinal in the conclave, and compelled them, morgh they were mostly Frenchmen, to elect Virban VI. an Italian, into that high dignity. The French cerdind, as foon as they recovered their liberty hed from Rome, and protefling against the forced election, choice Robert, for of the count of Geneva, who took the name of Clement VII. and refided at Avignon. All the kingdoms of Christ--indom, according to the feveral interests and inclimations, were divided between the letwo parties. the court of France a litered to Clement, and was bellowed by its allies, the king of Caffile, at 1 the Ling of Scotland: England, of courfe was il rown into the other party, and declared for Urban. Thus the appellation of Cementines and U' hards districted Burope for feveral year; and fich it canned the other as schismatics, a cras rebels to the true view of Christ. But this cheumstange, though it weal.c. ca the papal authority, had not fo great an effect as might naturally be imaginal. Though any king could eafly at first make his ling dom embrace the party of one pope or the other, or even keep it some time in surpense between them, he could not so easily transfer his obedience at pleasure: The people attached themselves to their own party, as to a religious opinion; and conceived an extreme abhorrence to the opposite party, whom they regarded as little better than Surreers or infidels. Crusades were even undertaken in his quarrel; and the zealous bishop of Norwich in particular led over, in 1382, near 60,000 bigots into Flanders against the Clementines; but, after losing a great part of his followers, he returned with difgrace into Eng-

CHAP. England! Each pope, sensible, from this prevailing spirit among the people, that the kingdom which once embraced his cause would always adhere to him, boldly maintained all the pretentions of his fce, and flood not much more in awe of the temporal fovereigns, than if his authority had not been endangered by a rival.

> Whe meet with this preamble to a law enacted at the very beginning of this reign: "Whereas divers " persons of small garrison of land or other posfessions, do make great recinue of people, as well of esquires as of others, in many parts of the " realm, giving to them hats and other livery of " one fuit by year, taking again towards them the value of the fame livery, or percale the double " value, by such covenant and assurance, that every of them shall maintain other in all quarrels, be " they reasonable or unreasonable, to the great " mischief and oppression of the people, &c. " This preamble contains a true picture of the slate of the kingdow. The laws had been so feebly executed, even during the long, active, and vigilant reign of Edward III. that no subject could trust to their protection. Men openly affociated themselves, under the patronage of some great baron, for their mutual defence. They wore public badges, by which their confederacy was distinguished. They supported each other in all quarrels, iniquities, extortions, murders, robberies, and other crimes. Their chief was more their fovereign than the king himself; and their own band was more connected with them than their country. Hence the perpetual turbulence, disorders, factions, and civil wars of those times: Hence the small regard paid to a character or the opinion of the public: Hence the large discretionary prerogatives of the crown, and the danger which might

f Froisfard, 1 b. ii. chap. 133, 134. Walsingham, p. 298, 299, 300, &c. Knyghton, p. 2671. 8 1 Richard II, chap. 7.

have ensued from the too great limitation of them. CHAP. If the king had possessed no arbitrary powers, while all the nobles assumed and exercised them, there must have ensued an absolute anarchy in the state.

XVII. 1399.

ONE great mischief attending these confederacies, was the extorting from the king pardons for the most enormous crimes. The parliament often endeavoured, in the last reign, to deprive the prince of this prerogative; but, in the present, they were content with an abridgment of it. They enacted, that no pardon for rapes or for murder from malice prepense should be valid, unless the crime were particularly specified in it h. There were also some other circumstances required for passing any pardon of this kind: An excellent law; but ill observed, like most laws that thwart the manners of the people, and the prevailing customs of the times.

It is easy to observe, from these voluntary associations among the people, that the whole force of the feudal fystem was in a manner dissolved and that the English had nearly returned, in that particular, to the fame fituation in which they stood before the Norman conquest. It was, indeed, impossible that that system could long subsist under the perpetual revolutions to which landed property is every where subject. When the great feudal baronies were first erected, the lord lived in opulence in the midst of his vassals: He was in a situation to protect and cherish and defend them: The quality of patron naturally united itself to that of superior: And these two principles of authority mutually supported each other. But when, by the various divisions and mixtures of property, a man's superior came to live at a distance from him, and could no longer give him shelter or countenance; the tie gradually became more fictitious than real: New connections from vicinity or other causes were formed:

XVII. 1399.

CHAP. Protection was fought by voluntary fervices and attachment: The appearance of valour, spirit, abilities in any great man, extended his interest very far: And if the sovereign were deficient in these qualities, he was no less, if not more exposed to the usurpations of the aristocracy, than even during the vigour of the feudal fystem.

> THE greatest novelty introduced into the civil government during this reign was the creation of peers by patent. Lord Beauchamp of Holt was the first peer that was advanced to the house of lords in this manner. The practice of levying benevolences

is also first mentioned in the present reign.

This prince lived in a more magnificent manner than perhaps any of his predecessors or successors. His household consisted of 10,000 persons: He had 300 in his kitchen; and all the other offices were jurnished in proportion. It must be remarked, that this enormous train had tables supplied them at the king's expence, according to the mode of that age. Such prodigality was probably the fource of many exactions by purveyors, and was one chief reason of the public ediscontents.

i Harding: This poet faye, that he speaks from the authority of a clerk of the green cloth.



C H A P. XVIII.

HENRY IV.

Title of the king—An insurrection—An insurrection in Wales—The carl of Northumberland
rebels—Battle of Shrcwsbury—State of Scotland—Parliamentary transactions—Death
—and character of the king.

THE English had so long been familiarised to CHAP. the hereditary succession of their monarchs, the AVIII. instances of departure from it had always borne fuch strong symptoms of injustice and violence, and Title of fo little of a national choice or election, and the the king. returns to the true line had ever been deemed fuch fortunate incidents in their history, that Henry was afraid lest, in resting his title on the consent of the people, he should build on a foundation which the people themselves were not accustomed, and whose solidity they would with difficulty be brought to recognize. The idea too of choice seemed always to imply that of conditions, and a right of recalling the consent upon any supposed violation of them; an idea which was not naturally agreeable to a fovereign, and might, in England, be dangerous to the subjects, who, lying so much under the influence of turbulent nobles, had ever paid but an imperfect obedience even to their hereditary princes. For these reasons, Henry was determined never to have recourse to this claim; the only one on which his authority could confistently stand: He rather chose to patch up his title in the best manner he could from other pretensions: And 4*

CHAP. And in the end, he left himself, in the eyes of men of sense, no ground of right but his present possession; a very precarious foundation, which, by its very nature, was liable to be overthe win by every faction of the great, or prejudice of the people. He had indeed a present advantage over his competitor: The heir of the house of Mortimer, who had been declared, in parliament, heir to the crown, was a boy of seven years of age k: His friends consulted his fafety, by keeping filence with regard to his title: Henry detained him and his younger brother in an honourable custody at Windsor castle: But he had reason to dread, that, in proportion as that nobleman grew to man's estate, he would draw to him the attachment of the people, and make them reflect on the fraud. violence, and injustice, by which he had been excluded from the throne. Many favourable topics would occur in his behalf: He was a native of England; possessed an extensive interest from the greatness and alliances of his family; however criminal the deposed monarch, this youth was intirely innocent; he was of the same religion, and educated in the same manners with the people, and could not be governed by any separate interest: These views would all concur to favour his claim; and though the abilities of the present prince might ward off any dangerous revolution, it was justly to be apprehended, that his authority could with difficulty be brought to equal that of his predecessors.

HENRY, in his very first parliament, had reason to see the danger attending that station which he had assumed, and the obstacles which he would meet with in governing an unruly aristocracy, always divided by faction, and at present inslamed with the resentments consequent on such recent convulsions. The peers, on their affembling, broke out into violent animolities against each other; forty gauntlets, the pledges of furious battle, were thrown on the CHAP. floor of the house by noblemen who gave mutual challenges; and liar and traitor resounded from all quarters. The king had fo much authority with these doughty champions, as to prevent all the combats which they threatened; but he was not able to bring them to a proper composure, or to an amicable disposition towards each other.

1399.

In was not long before these passions broke into action. The earls of Rutland, Kent; and Hunt- An inforingdon, and lord Spencer, who were now degraded from the respective titles of Alberniarle, Surrey, Exeter, and Glocester, conserred on them by Richard, entered into a conspiracy, together with the carl of Salisbury and lord Lumley, for raising an infurrection, and for feizing the king's perfon at Windfor '; but the treachery of Ruthind gave him warning of the danger. He fuddenly withdrew to London; and the conspirators, who came to Windfor with a body of 500 horse, sound that they had missed this blow, on which all the surces of their enterprise depended. Henry appeared next day at Kingston upon Thames, at the Lead of 20,000 men, moltly drawn from the city; and his chemies, unable to refift his power, dispersed themselves, with a view of raising their followers in the several counties which were the feat of their interest. But the adherents of the king were hot in the purfuit, and every where opposed themselves to their progress. The earls of Kent and Salisbury were seized at Cirencester by the citizens: and were next day beheaded without farther ceremony, according to the custom of the times m. The citizens of Bristol treated Spencer and Lumley in the same manner. The earl of Huntingdon, fir Thomas Blount, and fir Benedict Sely, who were also taken prisoners, suffered death, with many others of the conspirators, by orders from

Waifingham, p. 362. Otterbourne, p. 224. Wallingham, p. 363. Ypod Neuft. p. 556.

XVIII. 14.0.

e II A.P. Henry. And when the quarters of these unhappy men were brought to London, no less than eighteen bishops and thirty-two mitred abbots joined the populace, and met them with the most indecent

marks of joy and exultation.

Bur the spectacle, the most shocking to every one who retained any fentiment either of honour or humanity, still remained. The earl of Rutland appeared, carrying on a pole, the head of lord Spencer, his brother-in-law, which he presented in triumph to Henry as a tellimony of his loyalty. This infamous man, who was foon after duke of York by the death of his father, and first prince of the blood, had been instrumental in the murder of his uncle the duke of Glocester n; had then deserted Richard, by whom he was trufted; had conspired against the life of Henry, to whom he had fworn allegiance; had betraved his affociates, whom he had feduced into this enterprife; and now displayed, in the face of the world, these badges of his multiplied dishonour.

1401.

Henry was sensible, that though the execution of these conspirators might seem to give security to his throne, the animolities, which remain after such bloody fcenes, are always dangerous to royal authority; and he therefore determined not to increase, by any hazardous enterprise, those numerous enemies with whom he was every where environed. While a subject, he was believed to have strongly imbibed all the principles of his father, the duke of Lancaster, and to have adopted the prejudices which the Lollards inspired against the abuses of the established church: But, finding himself possessed of the throne by so precarious a title, he thought fuperstition a necessary implement of public authority; and he refolved, by every expedient, to pay court to the clergy. There were hitherto no penal laws enacted against herefy; an indulgence which had proceeded,

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1491.

not from a spirit of toleration in the Romish church, CHAP. but from the ignorance and simplicity of the people, XX which had rendered them unfit either for starting or receiving any new or curious doctrines, and which needed not to be restrained by rigorous penalties. But when the learning and genius of Wickliffe had once broken, in some measure, the fetters of prejudice, the ecclesiastics called aloud for the punishment of his disciples; and the king, who was very little scrupulous in his conduct, was easily induced to facrifice his principles to his interest, and to acquire the favour of the church by that most effectual method, the gratifying of their vengeance against opponents. He engaged the parliament to pass a law for that purpose: It was enacted, that when any heretic, who relapsed, or refused to abjure his opinions, was delivered over to the secular arm by the bishop or his commissaries, he should be committed to the flames by the civil magistrate before the whole people. This weapon did not long remain unemployed in the hands of the clergy: William Sautré, rector of St. Osithes in London, had been condemned by the convocation of Canterbury; his sentence was ratified by the house of peers; the king issued his writ for the execution p; and the unhappy man atoned for his erroneous opinions by the penalty of fire. This is the first instance of that kind in England; and thus one horfor more was added to those dismal scenes which at that time were already but too familiar to the people.

Bur the utmost precaution and prudence of Henry could not shield him from those numerous inquietudes which assailed him from every quarter. The connexions of Richard with the royal family of France made that court exert its activity to recover his authority, or revenge his death 9; but

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^{• 2} Henry IV. chap, Mi.

P Rymer, vol. viii. p. 178.

⁹ Ibid. p. 123.

Vol. III.

XVIII. JACI.

CIIAP. though the confusions in England tempted the French to engage in some enterprise by which they might distress their ancient enemy, the greater confusions which they experienced at home obliged them quickly to accommodate matters; and Charles, content with recovering his daughter from Henry's hands, laid aside his preparations, and renewed the truce between the kingdoms'. The attack of Guienne was also an inviting attempt, which the present factions that prevailed among the French obliged them to neglect. The Gascons, affectionate to the memory of Richard, who was born among them, refused to swear allegiance to a prince that had dethroned and murdered him; and the appearance of a French army on their frontiers would probably have tempted them to change mailers '. But the earl of Worcester, arriving with some English troops, gave countenance to the partisans of Henry, and overawed their opponents. Religion too was here found a cement to their union with England. The Gascons had been engaged, by Richard's authority, to acknowledge the pope of Rome; and they were fenfible that, if they submitted to France, it would be necessary for them to pay obedience to the pope of Avignon, whom they had been taught to detest as a schismatic. Their principles on this head were too fast rooted to admit of any sudden or violent alteration.

Infurrection in Walcs.

THE revolution in England proved likewise the occasion of an insurrection in Wales. Owen Glendour, or Glendourduy, descended from the ancient princes of that country, had become obnoxious on account of his attachment to Richard; and Reginald lord Gray of Ruthyn, who was closely connected with the new king, and who enjoyed a great fortune in the marches of Wales, thought the opportunity favourable for oppressing his neighbour,

r Rymer, vol. viii p. 142. 1_2. 219.

⁵ Ibid. vol. p. 110, 111.

14:1.

and taking possession of his estate t. Glendour, CHAP. provoked at the injustice, and still more at the in- XVIII. dignity, recovered possession by the sword ": Henry fent affistance to Gray w; the Welsh took part with Glendour: A troublesome and tedious war was kindled, which Glendour long sustained by his valour and activity, aided by the natural strength of the country, and the untamed ipirit of its inhabitants.

As Glendour committed devastations promiscuously on all the English, he insested the estate of the earl of Marche; and sir Edmund Mortimer, uncle to that nobleman, led out the retainers of the family, and gave battle to the Welsh chiestain: His troops were routed, and he was taken prisoner *: At the same time the earl himself, who had been allowed to retire to his castle of Wigmore, and who, though a mere boy, took the field with his followers, fell also into Glendour's hands, and was carried by him into Wales r. As Henry dreaded and hated all the family of Marche, he allowed the earl to remain in captivity; and though that young nobleman was nearly allied to the Piercies, to whose affiltance he himself had owed his crown, he refused to the earl of Northumberland permillion to treat of his ranfom with Glendour.

THE uncertainty in which Henry's affairs stood during a long time with France, as well as the confusions incident to all great changes in government, tempted the Scots to make incursions into England; and Henry, desirous of taking revenge upon them, but afraid of rendering his new government unpopular by requiring great supplies from his subjects, fummoned at Westminster a council of the peers, without the commons, and laid before them the state of his affairs 2. The military part of the feudal

t Vita Ric. Sec p 171, 172.

w Vita Rie. Sec. p. 172, 173.

Ibid. vol. i. p. 151.

u Walfingham, p. 364.

^{*} Dugdale, vol. i. p. 150.

² Rymer, vol. viii. p. 125, 126. consti-

XVIII. 1401.

CHAP. constitution was now much decayed: There remained only so much of that fabric as affected the civil rights and properties of men: And the peers here undertook, but voluntarily, to attend the king in an expedition against Scotland, each of them at the head of a certain number of his retainers. Henry conducted this army to Edinburgh, of which he easily made himself master; and he there summoned Robert III. to do homage to him for his crown'. But finding that the Scots would neither submit nor give him battle, he returned in three weeks, after making this useless bravado; and he disbanded his army.

1402.

In the subsequent season, Archibald earl of Douglas, at the head of 12,000 men, and attended by many of the principal nobility of Scotland, made an irruption into England, and committed devastations on the northern counties. On his return home, he was overtaken by the Piercies at Homeldon, on the borders of England, and a fierce battle ensued, where the Scots were totally routed. Douglas himself was taken prisoner; as was Mordac earl of Fife, son of the duke of Albany, and nephew of the Scottish king," with the earls of Angus, Murray, and Orkney, and many others of the gentry and nobflity. When Henry received intelligence of this victory, he sent the earl of Northumberland orders not to ranfom his prisoners, which that nobleman regarded as his right by the laws of war received in that age. The king intended to detain them, that he might be able, by their means, to make an advantageous peace with Scotland; but by this policy he gave a fresh disgust to the family of Piercy.

THE obligations which Henry had owed to Northumberland were of a kind the most likely to pro-

duce

Rymer, vol. viii. p. 125. b Ibid. p. 155, 156, &c.

Walfingham, p. 266. Vita Ric. Sec pt'180. Chron. Otterbourne, p. 237.

duce ingratitude on the one side, and discontent on CHAP. the other. The fovereign naturally became jealous XVIII. of that power which had advanced him to the throne; and the subject was not casily satisfied in The earlof the returns which he thought so great a favour had berland merited. Though Henry, on his accession, had rebels. bestowed the office of constable on Northumberland for life 4, and conferred other gifts on that family, these favours were regarded as their due; the refusal of any other request was deemed an injury. The impatient spirit of Harry Piercy, and the factions disposition of the earl of Worcester, younger brother of Northumberland, inflamed the discontents of that nobleman; and the precarious title of Henry tempted him to feek revenge, by overturning that throne which he had at first established. He entered into a correspondence with Glendour: He gave liberty to the earl of Douglas, and made an alliance with that martial chief: He roused up all his partisans to arms; and such unlimited authority at that time belonged to the great families, that the same men, whom a few years before he had conducted against Richard, now followed his standard in opposition to Henry. When war was ready to break out, Northumberland was seized with a sudden illness at Berwic; and young Piercy, taking the command of the troops, marched towards Shrewsbury, in order to join his forces with those of Glendour. The king had happily a small army on foot, with which he had intended to act against the Scots; and knowing the importance of celerity in all civil wars, he instantly hurried down that he might give battle to the rebels. H approached Piercy near Shrewsbury, before that nobleman was joined by Glendour; and the policy of one leader, and impatience of the other, made them hasten to a general engagement.

⁴ Rymer, vol. viii. p. 89.

C H A P. XVIII.

THE evening before the battle, Piercy fent a manifesto to Henry, in which he renounced his allegiance, set that prince at defiance, and, in the name of his father and uncle, as well as his own, enumerated all the grievances of which, he pre-. tended, the nation had reason to complain. He upbraided him with the perjury of which he had been guilty, when on landing at Ravenspur, he had fworn upon the gospels, before the earl of Northumberland, that he had no other intention than to recover the dutchy of Lancaster, and that he would ever remain a faithful subject to king Richard. He aggravated his guilt in first dethroning, then murdering that prince, and in usurping on the title of the house of Mortimer, to whom, both by lineal fuccession, and by declarations of parliament, the throne, when vacant by Richard's demile, did of right belong. He complained of his crucl policy in allowing the young earl of Marche, whom he ought to regard as his fovereign, to remain a captive in the hands of his enemies, and in even refusing to all his friends permitsion to treat of his ransom. He charged him again with perjury in loading the nation with heavy taxes, after having fworn that, without the utmost necessity, he would never levy any impositions upon them. And he reproached him with the arts employed in procuring favourable elections into parliament; arts which he himself had before imputed as a crime to Richard, and which he had made one chief reason of that prince's arraignment and deposition . This manifesto was well calculated to inslame the quarrel between the parties: The bravery of the two leaders promised an obstinate engagement: And the equality of the armies, being each about 12,000 men, a number which was not unmanageable by the com-

e Hall, fol. 21, 22, &c.

manders, gave reason to expect a great effusion of CHAP. blood on both sides, and a very doubtful issue to the combat.

WE shall scarcely find any battle in those ages 21st July. where the shock was more terrible and more con- Battle of Shrewsstant. Henry exposed his person in the thickest of bury. the fight: His gallant son, whose military atchievements were afterwards so renowned, and who here performed his noviciate in arms, fignalized himfelf on his father's footsteps, and even a wound, which he received in the face with an arrow, could not oblige him to quit the field '. Piercy supported that fame which he had acquired in many a bloody combat: And Douglas, his ancient enemy, and now his friend, still appeared his rival, admist the horror and confusion of the day. This nobleman performed feats of valour which are almost incredible: He seemed determined that the king of England should that day fall by his arm: He fought him all over the field of battle: And as Henry, either to elude the attacks of the enemy upon his person, or to encourage his own men by the belief of his presence every where, had accoutred several captains in the royal garb, the sword of Douglas rendered this honour fatal to many. But while the armies were contending in this furious manner, the death of Piercy, by an unknown hand, decided the victory, and the royalists prevailed. There are faid to have fallen that day, on both fides, near two thousand three hundred gentlemen; but the persons of greatest distinction were on the king's; the earl of Stafford, fir Hugh Shirley, fir Nicholas Gausel, sir Hugh Mortimer, sir John Masfey, fir John Calverly. About fix thousand private men perished, of whom two thirds were of Piercy's army h. The earls of Worcester and Douglas were taken prisoners: The former was beheaded at Shrews-

^f T. Livii, p. 3. 8 Walfingham, p. 366, 367. Hall, fol. 22. h Chron. Otterbourne, p. 224. Ypod. Neuit. p. 560.

C H A P. bury; the latter was treated with the courtefy due to XVIII. his rank and merit.

1403.

The earl of Northumberland, having recovered from his fickness, had levied a fresh army, and was on his march to join his son; but being opposed by the earl of Westmoreland, and hearing of the defeat at Shrewsbury, he dismissed his forces, and came with a small retinue to the king at York. He pretended that his sole intention in arming was to mediate between the parties: Henry thought proper to accept of the apology, and even granted him a pardon for his offence: All the other rebels were treated with equal lenity; and, except the earl of Worcester and sir Richard Vernon, who were regarded as the chief authors of the insurrection, no person engaged in this dangerous enterprise seems to have perished by the hands of the executioner.

£ 405.

But Northumberland, though he had been pardoned, knew that he never should be trusted, and that he was too powerful to be cordially forgiven by a prince whose situation gave him such reasonable grounds of jealoufy. It was the effect either of Henry's vigilance or good fortune, or of the narrow genius of his enemies, that no proper concert was ever formed among them: They rose in rebellion one after another; and thereby afforded him an opportunity of suppressing singly those insurrections, which, had they been united, might have proved fatal to his authority. The earl of Nottingham, fon of the duke of Norfolk, and the archbishop of Yorl, brother to the earl of Wiltshire, whom Henry, then duke of Lancaster, had beheaded at Bristol, though they had remained quiet while Piercy was in the field, still harboured in their breast a violent hatred against the enemy of their families; and they determined, in conjunction with the earl of Northumberland, to feek revenge against him. They betook

⁴ Chron. Otterbourne, p. 225.

Rymer, vol. viii. p. 353.
themselves

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1405.

themselves to arms before that powerful nobleman CHAP. was prepared to join them; and publishing a manifesto, in which they reproached Henry with his usurpation of the crown, and the murder of the late king, they required that the right line should be restored, and all public grievances be redressed. The earl of Westmoreland, whose power lay in the neighbourhood, approached them with an inferior force at Shipton, near York; and, being afraid to hazard an action, he attempted to subdue them by a stratagem, which nothing but the greatest folly and simplicity on their part could have rendered successful. He defired a conference with the archbishop and earl between the armies: He heard their grievances with great patience: He begged them to propose the remedies: He approved of every expedient which they suggested: He granted them all their demands: He also engaged that Henry should give them entire fatisfaction; and when he saw them pleased with the facility of his concessions, he observed to them, that fince amity was now, in effect, reltored between them, it were better on both sides to dismiss their forces, which otherwise would prove an insupportable burden to the country. The archbishop and the earl of Nottingham immediately gave directions to that purpose: Their troops disbanded upon the field: But Westmoreland, who had secretly issued contrary orders to his army, seized the two rebels without resistance, and carried them to the king, who was advancing with hasty marches to suppress the insurrection. The trial and punishment of an archbishop might have proved a troublesome and dangerous undertaking, had Henry proceeded regularly, and allowed time for an opposition to form itfelf against that unusual measure: The celerity of the execution alone could here render it safe and prudent. Finding that sir William Gascoigne, the chief

Walfingham, p. 373. Otterbourne, p. 255.

C II A P. justice, made some scruple of acting on this occasion, he appointed fir William Fulthorpe for judge; who, without any indictment, trial, or defence, pronounced fentence of death upon the prelate, which was prefently executed. This was the first instance in. England of a capital punishment inflicted on a bishop; whence the clergy of that rank might learn that their crimes, more than those of laics, were not to pass with impunity. The earl of Nottingham was condemned and executed in the same summary manner: But though many other persons of condition, such as lord Falconberg, sir Ralph Hastings, fir John Colville, were engaged in this rebellion, no others feem to have fallen victims to Henry's scverity.

THE earl of Northumberland, on receiving this intelligence, fled into Scotland, together with lord Bardolf; and the king, without opposition, reduced all the castles and fortresses belonging to these noblemen. He thence turned his arms against Glendour, over whom his son, the prince of Wales, had obtained fome advantages: But that enemy, more troublesome than dangerous, still found means of defending himself in his fastnesses, and of cluding, though not resisting, all the force of England. a subsequent season, the earl of Northumberland and lord Bardolf, impatient of their exile, entered the north in hopes of raising the people to arms; but found the country in such a posture as rendered all their attempts unsuccessful. Sir Thomas Rokesby, sheriss of Yorkshire, levied some forces, attacked the invaders at Bramham, and gained a victory, in which both Northumberland and Bardolf were flain m. This prosperous event, joined to the death of Glendour, which happened foon after, freed Henry from all his domestic enemies; and this prince, who had mounted the throne by fuch unjustifiable means, and held it

1407.

¹ Walfingham, p 374. m Ibid. p. 377. Chron. Otterb. p. 261.

by fuch an exceptionable title, had yet, by his valour, CHAP. prudence, and address, accustomed the people to the yoke, and had obtained a greater afcendant over his haughty barons than the law alone, not supported by these active qualities, was ever able to confer.

1407

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ABOUT the same time, fortune gave Henry an advantage over that neighbour, who, by his situation, was most enabled to disturb his government. bert III. king of Scots, was a prince, though of flender capacity, extremely innocent and inoffensive in his conduct: But Scotland, at that time, was still less fitted than England for cherishing, or even enduring, fovereigns of that character. The duke of Albany, Robert's brother, a prince of more abilities, at least of a more boisterous and violent disposition, had allumed the government of the state; and, not fatisfied with present authority, he entertained the criminal purpose of extirpating his brother's children, and of acquiring the crown to his own family. He threw in prison David, his eldest nephew, who there perished by hunger: James alone, the younger brother of David, stood between that tyrant and the throne; and king Robert, sensible of his son's danger, embarked him on board a ship, with a view of fending him to France, and entrusting him to the protection of that friendly power. Unfortunately, the vessel was taken by the English; prince James, a boy about nine years of age, was carried to London; and though there subsisted at that time a truce between the kingdoms, Henry refused to restore the young prince to his liberty. Robert, worn out with cares and infirmities, was unable to bear the shock of this last misfortune; and he soon after died, leaving the government in the hands of the duke of Albany". Henry was now more sensible than ever of the importance of the acquisition which he had made: While he retained fuch a pledge, he was fure of keep-

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[·] Buchanan, lib. 10.

CHAP. ing the duke of Albany in dependance; or, if offended, he could easily, by restoring the true heir, take ample revenge upon the usurper. But though the king, by detaining James in the English court, had shown himself somewhat deficient in generosity, he made ample amends by giving that prince an excellent education, which afterwards qualified him, when he mounted the throne, to reform, in some measure, the rude and barbarous manners of his native country.

THE hostile dispositions which of late had prevailed between France and England were restrained, during the greater part of this reign, from appearing The jealousies and civil commotions in action. with which both nations were disturbed kept each of them from taking advantage of the unhappy fituation of its neighbour. But as the abilities and good fortune of Henry had sooner been able to compose the English factions, this prince began, in the latter part of his reign, to look abroad, and to foment the animosities between the families of Burgundy and Orleans, by which the government of France was, during that period, so much distracted. He knew that one great source of the national discontent against his predecessor was the inactivity of his reign; and he hoped, by giving a new direction to the restless and unquiet spirits of his people, to prevent their breaking out in domestic wars and disorders. That he might unite policy with force, he first entered into treaty with the duke of Burgundy, and sent that prince a small body of troops, which supported him against his enemies P. Soon after, he hearkened to more advantageous proposals made him by the duke of Orleans, and dispatched a greater body to support that party 9. But the leaders of the opposite factions having made temporary accommodation, the interests of the English were facrificed; and this effort of

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. 1413.

Walfingham, p. 3°.

⁹ Rymer, vol. viii. p. 715. 732.

Henry proved, in the issue, entirely vain and fruit- CHAP. less. The declining state of his health, and the shortness of his reign, prevented him from renewing the attempt, which his more fortunate son carried to so great a length against the French monarchy.

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Such were the military and foreign transactions Parliaof this reign: The civil and parliamentary are some- mentary transacwhat more memorable, and more worthy of our at- tions. tention. During the two last reigns, the elections of the commons had appeared a circumstance of government not to be neglected; and Richard was even accused of using unwarrantable methods for procuring to his partifans a feat in that house. This practice formed one confiderable article of charge against him in his deposition; yet Henry scrupled not to tread in his footsteps, and to encourage the same abuses in elections. Laws were enacted against fuch undue influence, and even a sheriff was punished for an iniquitous return which he had made': But laws were commonly, at that time, very ill executed; and the liberties of the people, such as they were, stood on a surer basis than on laws and parliamentary elections. Though the house of commons was little able to withstand the violent currents which perpetually ran between the monarchy and the aristocracy, and though that house might easily be brought, at a particular time, to make the most unwarrantable concessions to either; the general institutions of the state still remained invariable; the interests of the several members continued on the fame footing; the sword was in the hands of the subject; and the government, though thrown into temporary disorder, soon settled itself on its ancient foundations.

During the greater part of this reign, the king was obliged to court popularity; and the house of commons, sensible of their own importance, began to assume powers, which had not usually been exer-

CHAP. cised by their predecessors. In the first year of Henry, they procured a law, that no judge, in concurring with any iniquitous measure, should be excused by pleading the orders of the king, or even the danger of his own life from the menaces of the fovereign. In the second year, they insisted on maintaining the practice of not granting any supply before they received an answer to their petitions; which was a tacit manner of bargaining with the prince. In the fifth year, they defired the king to remove from his household four persons who had displeased them, among whom was his own confessor; and Henry, though he told them that he knew of no offence which thefe men had committed, yet, in order to gratify them, complied with their request ". In the fixth year, they voted the king supplies, but appointed treasurers of their own, to see the money disbursed for the purposes intended, and required them to deliver in their accounts to the house w. In the eighth year, they proposed, for the regulation of the government and household, thirty important articles, which were all agreed to; and they even obliged all the members of council, all the judges, and all the officers of the household, to swear to the observance of them *. The abridger of the records remarks the unufual liberties taken by the speaker and the house during this periody. But the great authority of the commons was but a temporary advantage, arising from the present situation. In a subsequent parliament, when the speaker made his customary application to the throne for liberty of speech, the king, having now overcome all his domettic difficulties, plainly told him, that he would have no novelties introduced, and would enjoy his prerogatives. But on the whole, the limitations of the government feem to have been more fenfibly felt, and more carefully maintained by Henry, than by any of his predecessors.

Cotton, p. 354.

t Ibid. p. 406. u Ibid. p. 426.

w Ibid. p. 438. * Ibid p 456, 457. Y Ibid. p 462.

DURING this reign, when the house of commons C II A P. were, at any time, brought to make unwary concessions to the crown, they also shewed their freedom by a speedy retractation of them. Henry, though he entertained a perpetual and well-grounded jealoufy of the family of Mortimer, allowed not their name to be once mentioned in parliament; and as none of the rebels had ventured to declare the earl of Marche king, he never attempted to procure, what would not have been refused him, an express declaration against the claim of that nobleman; because he knew that fuch a declaration, in the present circumstances, would have no authority, and would only ferve to revive the memory of Mortimer's title in the minds of the people. He proceeded in his purpose after a more artful and covert manner. He procured a fettlement of the crown on himself and his heirs-male 2, thereby tacitly excluding the females, and transferring the Salic law into the English govern-He thought, that though the house of Plans tagenet had at first derived their title from a female, this was a remote event, unknown to the generality of the people; and if he could once accustom them to the practice of excluding women, the title of the earl of Marche would gradually be forgotten and neglected by them. But he was very unfortunate in this attempt. During the long contests with France, the injuffice of the Salic law had been fo much exclaimed against by the nation, that a contrary principle had taken deep root in the minds of men; and it was now become impossible to cradicate it. The same house of commons, therefore, in a subsequent session, apprehensive that they had overturned the foundations of the English government, and that they had opened the door to more civil wars than might ensue even from the irregular elevation of the house of Lancaster, applied with such earnestness for

² Cotton, p. 454.

CHAP. a new settlement of the crown, that Henry yielded to their request, and agreed to the succession of the princesses of his family. A certain proof, that nobody was, in his heart, satisfied with the king's title to the crown, or knew on what principle to rest it.

> Bur though the commons, during this reign, showed a laudable zeal for liberty in their transactions with the crown; their efforts against the church were still more extraordinary, and seemed to anticipate very much the spirit which became so general in a little more than a century afterwards. I know, that the credit of these passages rests entirely on one ancient historian b; but that historian was contemporary, was a clergyman, and it was contrary to the interests of his order to preserve the memory of fuch transactions, much more to forge precedents, which posterity might, some time, be tempted to imitate. This is a truth so evident, that the most likely way of accounting for the filence of the records on this head, is by supposing, that the authority of some churchmen was so great as to procure a razure, with regard to these circumstances, which the indifcretion of one of that order has happily preserved to us.

> In the fixth of Henry, the commons, who had heen required to grant supplies, proposed in plain terms to the king, that he should seize all the temporalities of the church, and employ them as a perpetual fund to serve the exigencies of the state. They infifted, that the clergy possessed a third of the lands of the kingdom; that they contributed nothing to the public burdens; and that their riches tended only to disqualify them from performing their ministerial functions with proper zeal and attention. When this address was presented, the archbishop of Canterbury, who then attended the king, objected

² Rymer, vol. viii. p. 462.

b Walfingham.

that the clergy, though they went not in person to CHAP. the wars, sent their vassals and tenants in all cases of necessity; while, at the same time, they themselves, who staid at home, were employed night and day in offering up their prayers for the happiness and prosperity of the state. The speaker smiled, and anfwered, without referve, that he thought the prayers of the church but a very flender fopply. The archbishop, however, prevailed in the dispute: The king discouraged the application of the commons: And the lords rejected the bill which the lower house had framed for stripping the church of her revenues "

THE commons were not discouraged by this repulse: In the eleventh of the king they returned to the charge with more zeal than before: They made a calculation of all the ecclefiaffical revenues, which, by their account, amounted to 485,000 marks a-year, and contained 18,400 ploughs of land. They proposed to divide this property among fifteen new earls, 1500 knights, 6000 esquires, and a hundred hospitals; besides 20,000 pounds a-year, which the king might take for his own use: And they insisted, that the clerical functions would be better performed than at present, by 15,000 parish priests, paid at the rate of feven marks a-piece of yearly stipend d. This application was accompanied with an address for mitigating the statutes enacted against the Lollards, which shows from what source the address came. The king gave the commons a fevere reply; and farther to fatisfy the church, and to prove that he was quite in earnest, he ordered a Lollard to be burned before the dissolution of the parliament.

WE have now related almost all the memorable transactions of this reign, which was busy and active; but produced few events that deserve to be transmitted to posterity. The king was so much

c Walfingham, p 371. Ypod. Neust. p. 563. d Walfingham, P-379. Tit. Livius. . e Rymer, vol. viii. p. 627. Otterbourne, p. 267.

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c II AP. employed in defending his crown, which he had obtained by unwarrantable means, and possessed by a bad title, that he had little leifure to look abroad, or perform any action which might redound to the honour or advantage of the nation. His health declined fome months before his death; he was subject to fits, which bereaved him, for the time, of his fenses: And, though he was yet in the flower of his age, his end was viably approaching. He expired at Westminster in the forty-sixth year of his age, and the thirteenth of his reign.

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The great popularity which Henry enjoyed before he attained the crown, and which had so much aided him in the acquisition of it, was entirely lost many years before the end of his reign; and he governed his people more by terror than by affection, more by his own policy than by their fense of duty or allegiance. When men came to reflect, in cool blood, on the crimes which had led him to the throne; the rebellion against his prince; the deposition of a lawful king, guilty fometimes, perhaps, of oppression, but more frequently of indifferction; the exclusion of the true heir; the murder of his fovereign and near relation; these were such enormities as drew on him the hatred of his futjects, fanctified all the rebellions against him, and made the executions, though not remarkably fevere, which he found necessary for the maintenance of his authority, appear cruel as well as iniquitous to the people. Yet, without pretending to apologize for these crime, which must ever be held in determation, it may be remarked, that he was infenfibly led into this blamable conduct by a train of incidents, which few men possess virtue enough to withstand. The injustice with which his predecessor had treated him, in first condemning him to banishment, then despoiling him of his patrimony, made him naturally think of revenge, and of recovering his lost right; the headlong zeal of the people hurried him into the throne; the care of his own fecurity, as

well

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Well as his ambition, made him an usurper; and the CHAP. sleps have always been so sew between the prisons of princes and their graves, that we need not wonder that Richard's fate was no exception to the general rule. All these considerations make Henry's situation, it he retained any fenic virtue, much to be lamented; and the inquietude with which he possessed his envied greatness, and the remortes by which, it is faid, he was continually haunted, render him an object of our pity, even when feated upon the throne. But it must be owned, that his prudence and vigilance and forefight in maint ining his power, were admirable: His command of temper remarkable: His courage, both military and political, without blemish: And he possessed many qualities which sitted him for his high flation, and which rendered his usurpation of it, though pernicious in after-times, rather falutary, during his own reign, to the English nation.

Hamry was twice married: By his rat wife Mary de Bohun, daughter and co-beir of the earl of Hereford, he had four fors, Henry, his fuccessor in the throne, Tons. duke of Clarence, John, duke of Bedford, and Humphrey, duke of Glocester; and two daughters, Blanche and Philippa, the former married to the duke of Bavaria, the latter to the king of Denmark. His fecond wife, Jane, whom he m rried after he was king, and who was daughter of the king of Navarre, and widow of the duke of Britanny,

brought him no iffac.

By an act of the fifth of this reign, it is made felony to cut out any person's tongue, or put out his eyes; crimes which, the act fays, were very frequent. This lavage spirit of revenge denotes a barbarous people; though, perhaps, it was increased by the prevailing factions and civil commotions.

Commercewas very little understood in this reign, as in all the preceding. In particular, a great jealoufy prevailed against merchant strangers; and many reliraints were, by law, imposed upon them; namely,

that

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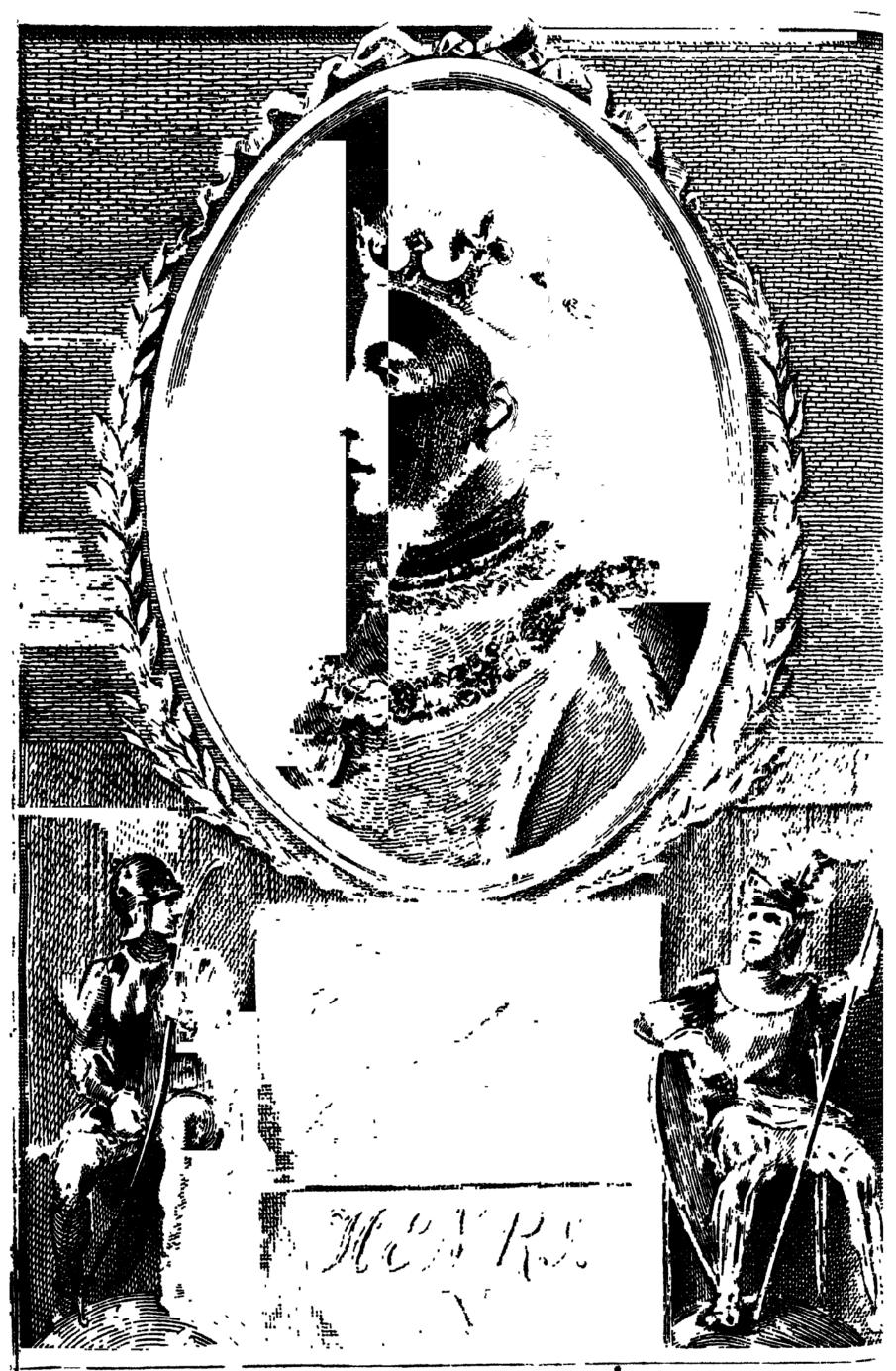
CHAP. that they should lay out in English manufactures or commodities all the money acquired by the fale of their goods; that they should not buy or sell with one another, and that all their goods should be difposed of three months after importation f. This last clause was found so inconvenient, that it was soon after repealed by parliament.

> IT appears that the expence of this king's household amounted to the yearly fum of 19,500 l. money of that age 4.

> Guicciardin tells us, that the Flemings, in this century, learned from Italy all the refinements in arts, which they taught the rest of Europe. The progress, however, of the artswas still year slow and backward in England.

t 4 Hen. IV. cap. if and gillen IV. organ

² Rymer, tem via n Sc



From the Reyal Coll: Kenfington .

I.K.Sherwin

CHAP. XIX.

HENRY V.

The king's former disorders—His reformation— The Lollards——Punishment of lord Cobham—— State of France—Invasion of that kingdom— Battle of Azincour—State of France—New invasion of France—Assassination of the duke of Burgundy—Treaty of Troye—Marriage of the king — His death — and character — Miscellaneous transactions during this reign.

THE many jealousies to which Henry IV.'s situa- CHAP. tion naturally exposed him, had so infected his temper, that he had entertained unreasonable suspicions with regard to the fidelity of his cldest son; Theking's and, during the latter years of his life, he had ex- former difcluded that prince from all share in public business, and was even displeased to see him at the head of armies, where his martial talents, though useful to the support of government, acquired him a renown, which, he thought, might prove dangerous to his own authority. The active spirit of young Henry, restrained from its proper exercise, broke out into extravagancies of every kind; and the riot of pleafure, the frolic of debauchery, the outrage of wine, filled the vacancies of a mind, better adapted to the pursuits of ambition and the cares of government. This course of life threw him among companions, whose disorders, if accompanied with spirit and humour, he indulged and seconded; and he was detected in many fallies, which, to severer eyes, appeared totally unworthy of his rank and station. There even remains a tradition, that, when heated

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C HAP. with liquor and jollity, he scrupled not to accompany his riotous affociates in attacking the paffengers on the streets and highways, and despoiling them of their goods; and he found an amulement in the incidents which the terror and regret of these de-, fenceless people produced on such occasions. This extreme of diffolitencis proved equally dilagreeable to his father, as that eager application to bufmels which had at first given him occasion of jealousy; and he faw, in his fon's behaviour, the same neglect of decency, the fame attachment to low company, which had degraded the personal character of Richard, and which, more than all his errors in government, had tended to overturn his throne. But the nation, in general, confidered the young prince with more indulgence; and observed so many gleams of generofity, ipirit, and magnanianity, breaking continually through the cloud which a wild conduct threw over—character, that they never ceased hoping for his amendment; and they afcribed all the weeds, which that up in that rich foil, to the want of proper culture and attention in the king and his minister: There happened an incident which encouraged these agreeable views, and gave much occation for favourable reflections to all men of fense and candour. A riotous companion of the prince's had been indicted before Gascoigne, the chief justice, for fome disorders; and Henry was not assumed to appear at the bar with the criminal, in order to give him countenance and protection. Finding that his presence had not overawed the chief justice, he proceeded to infult that magistrate on his tribunal; but Gascoigne, mindful of the character which he then bore, and the majesty of the sovereign and of the laws, which he fullained, ordered the prince to be carried to prison for his rude behaviour h. The spectators were agreeably disappointed when they

faw the heir of the crown submit peaceably to this C II A P. sentence, make reparation for his ciror by acknow-ledging it, and check his impetuous nature in the

midst of its extravagant career.

THE memory of this incident, and of many others His reof a like nature, rendered the prospect of the future tormation. reign nowife difagreeable to the nation, and increafed the joy which the death of to unpopular a prince as the late king naturally occasioned. The first steps taken by the young prince confirmed all those pre-possessions entertained in his favour'. He called together his former companions, acquainted them with his intended reformation, exhorted them to imitate his example, but flrictly inhibited them, till they had given proofs of their fincerity in this particular, from appearing any more in his presence; and he thus difinitied them with liberal prefents k. The wife ministers of his father, who had checked his riots, found that they had unknowingly been paying the highest court to him; and were received with all the marks of favour and confidence. The chief justice himfelf, who trembled to approach the royal presence, met with praises instead of reproaches for his past conduct, and was exhorted to persevere in the firme rigorous and impartial execution of the laws. The surprise of those who expected an opposite behaviour, augmented their fatisfaction; and the charader of the young king appeared brighter than if it had never been thaded by any errors.

Bur Henry was anxious not only to repair his own misconduct, but also to make amends for those iniquities into which policy or the necessity of affairs had betrayed his father. He expressed the deepest forrow for the fate of the unhappy Richard, did justice to the memory of that unfortunate prince, even performed his funeral obsequies with pomp and solemnity, and cherished all those who had

i Walfing, p. 382; k Hall, fol. 35. Holingshed, p. 543. Godwin's life of Henry V. p. 1.

CHAP. XIX. distinguished themselves by their loyalty and attache ment towards him'. Instead of continuing the restraints which the jealoufy of his father had imposed on the earl of Marche, he received that young nobleman with fingular courtefy and favour; and by this magnatimity to gained on the gentle and unambitious nature of his competitor, that he remained ever after fincerely attached to him, and gave him no disturbance in his future government. The samily of Piercy was restored to its fortune and honours^m. The king feemed ambitious to bury all party-distinctions in oblivion: The instruments of the preceding reion, who had been advanced from their blind zeal for the Lancastrian interests, more than from their merits, gave place every where to men of more honograble characters: Virtue feemed now to have an open career, in which it might exert itself: The exhortations, as well as example, of the prince gave it encouragement: All men were unanimous in their attachment to Henry; and the defects of his title were forgotten amidst the personal regard which was univerfully paid to him.

The Lol-

THERE remained among the people only one party diffinction, which was derived from religious differences, and which, as it is of a peculiar, and commonly a very oblimate nature, the popularity of Henry was not able to overcome. The Lollards were every day increasing in the kingdom, and were become a formed party, which appeared extremely dangerous to the church, and even formidable to the civil authority. The enthusiasm by which these sections which they pretended to introduce, the hatred which they expressed against the established hierarchy, gave an alarm to Henry; who, either from a fincere attachment to the ancient religion, or from a dread of the unknown consequences which attend

Hist Croyland, contin- Hall, fol 34 Holingshed, p. 544.

m Holingshed, p. 545.

n Walsingham, p. 382.

1413

all important changes, was determined to execute CHAP. the laws against such bold innovators. The head of this fect was fir John Oldcastle lord Cobham, a nobleman who had diftinguished himself by his valour and his military talents, and had, on many occasions, a quired the esteem both of the late and of the pretent king". His high character and his zeal for the new fect pointed him out to Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, as the proper victim of ecclesiastical severity; whose punishment would strike a terror into the whole party, and teach them that they must expect no mercy under the present administration. He applied to Henry for a permission to indict lord Cobham ; but the generous nature of the prince was averse to such sanguinary methods of conversion. He represented to the primate, that reason and conviction were the best expedients for supporting truth; that all gentle means ought first to be tried in order to reclaim men from error; and that he himself would endeavour, by a convertation with Cobham, to reconcile him to the catholic faith. But he found that nobleman obflinate in his opinions, and determined not to facrifice truths of fuch infinite moment to his complaifance for fovereigns 4. Henry's principles of toleration, or rather his love of the practice, could carry him no farther; and he then gave full reins to ecclefiastical severity against the inflexible heresiarch. The primate indicted Cobham; and, with the affistance of his three suffragans, the bishops of London, Winchester, and St. David's, condemned him to the flames for his erroneous opinions. Cobham, who was confined in the Tower, made his escape before the day appointed for his execution. The bold spirit of the man, provoked by persecution and stimulated by zeal, was urged to attempt the most criminal enterprises; and his unlimited authority

[·] Walfingham, p. 382. P Fox's Λ&s and Monuments, p. 513. 4 Rymer, vol. ix. p. 61. Walfingham, p. 383.

CHAP. over the new sect proved that he well merited the

1413.

T414. 6th jan.

Punishment of lord Cob-Lam.

attention of the civil magistrate. He formed in his retreat very violent defigns against his enemies; and dispatching his emissaries to all quarters, appointed a general rendezvous of the party, in order to feize the person of the king at Eltham, and put their perfecutors to the fword. Henry, apprifed of their intention, removed to Westminster: Cobham was not discouraged by this disappointment; but changed the place of rendezvous to the field near St. Giles's: The king, having shut the gates of the city, to prevent any reinforcement to the Lollards from that quarter, came into the field in the night-time feized fuch of the conspirators as appeared, and recreated laid hold of the feveral parties who were naftening to the place appointed. It appeared that a few only were in the fectet of the conspiracy: The rest implicitly followed their leaders: But upon the trial of the prisoners, the treasonable designs of the sect were rendered certain, both from evidence, and from the confession of the criminals themselves. Some were executed; the greater number pardoned . Cobham himself, who made his escape by slight, was not brought to justice till four years after, when he was hanged as a traitor; and his body was burnt on the gibbet, in execution of the fentence pronounced against him as a heretic". This criminal design, which was perhaps fomewhat aggravated by the clergy, brought difcredit upon the party, and checked the progress of that sect, which had embraced the speculative doctrines of Wicklisse, and at the same time aspired to a resormation of ecclesiastical abuses.

THESE two points were the great objects of the Lollards; but the bulk of the nation was not affected in the same degree by both of them. Com-

^{*} Wallingham, p. 325. S Cotton, p. 554. Hall, fol 35. Holingflied, p. 544. t Rymer, vol. ix. p. 119. 129. 193. n Malfingham, p. 400. Ofterbourne, p. 280. Holingshed, p 561.

mon sense and obvious reflection had discovered to C H A P. the people the advantages of a reformation in discipline; but the age was not yet so far advanced as to be seized with the spirit of controversy, or to enter into those abstruse doctrines, which the Lollards endeavoured to propagate throughout the kingdom. The very notion of herefy alarmed the generality of the people: Innovation in fundamental principles was fuspicious: Curiosity was not, as yet, a sussicient counterpoise to authority: And even many, who were the greatest friends to the reformation of abuses, were anxious to express their detestation of the speculative tenets of the Wickliffites, which they feared, threw difference on so good a cause. This turn of thought appears evidently in the proceedings of the parliament which was fummoned immediately after the detection of Cobham's conspiracy. That assembly passed severe laws against the new heretics: They enacted, that whoever was convicted of Lollardy before the ordinary, besides suffering capital punishment according to the laws formerly established, should also forfeit his lands and goods to the king; and that the chancellor, treasurer, justices of the two benches, sheriffs, justices of the peace, and all the chief magistrates in every city and borough, should take an oath to use their utmost endeavours for the extirpation of herefy w. Yet this very parliament, when the king demanded supply, renewed the offer formerly prefled upon his father, and entreated him to feize all the ecclefiastical revenues, and convert them to the use of the crown*. The clergy were alarmed: They could offer the king no bribe which was equivalent: They only agreed to confer on him all the priories alien, which depended :.. on capital abbies in Normandy, and had been bequeathed to these abbies, when that province remained united to England: And Chicheley, now

> w 2 Hen. V. chap. 7. * Hall, fol. 35.

XIX. 1414.

C H A P. archbishop of Canterbury, endeavoured to divert the blow, by giving occupation to the king, and by perfuading him to undertake a war against France, in order to recover his lost rights to that kingdom.

IT was the dying injunction of the late king to his fon, not to allow the English to remain long in peace, which was apt to breed intestine commotions; but to employ them in foreign expeditions, by which the prince might acquire honour; the nobility, in sharing his dangers, might attach themselves to his person; and all the restless spirits find occupation for their inquietude. The natural disposition of Henry fufficiently inclined him to follow this advice, and the civil disorders of France, which had been prolonged beyond those of England, opened a full career to his ambition.

1475. State of France.

Tire death of Charles V. which followed foon after that of Edward III. and the youth of his son, Charles VI. put the two kingdoms for some time in a fimilar fituation; and it was not to be apprehended, that either of them, during a minority, would be able to make much advantage of the weakness of the other. The jealousies also between Charles's three uncles, the dukes of Anjou, Berri, and Burgundy, had distracted the affairs of France rather more than those between the dukes of Lancaster, York, and Glocester, Richard's three uncles, disordered those of England; and had carried off the attention of the French nation from any vigorous enterprise against foreign states. But in proportion as Charles advanced in years, the factions were composed; his two uncles, the dukes of Anjou and Burgundy, died; and the king himself, asfuming the reins of government, discovered symptoms of genius and spirit, which revived the drooping hopes of his country. This promising state of affairs was not of long duration: The unhappy

prince fell suddenly into a sit of frenzy, which ren- C HAP. dered him incapable of exercifing his authority; and XIX. though he recovered from this disorder, he was so subject to relapses, that his judgment was gradually but sensibly impaired, and no steady plan of government could be purfued by him. The administration of affairs was disputed between his brother, Lewis duke of Orleans, and his confin-german, John duke of Burgundy: The propinquity to the crown pleaded in favour of the former: The latter, who, in right of his mother, had inherited the county of Flanders, which he annexed to his father's extensive dominions, derived a lustre from his superior power: The people were divided between these contending princes: And the king, now refuming, now dropping his authority, kept the victory undecided, and prevented any regular settlement of the state by the final prevalence of either party.

AT length, the dukes of Orlcans and Burgundy, feeming to be moved by the cries of the nation and by the interpolition of common friends, agreed to bury all past quarrels in oblivion, and to enter into ffrict amity: They swore before the altar the sincerity of their friendship; the priest administered the facrament to both of them; they gave to each other every pledge which could be deemed facred among men: But all this folemn preparation was only a cover for the basest treachery, which was deliberately premeditated by the duke of Burgundy. ile procured his rival to be affaffinated in the streets of Paris: He endeavoured for some time to conceal the part which he took in the crime: But being detected, he embraced a resolution still more criminal and more dangerous to fociety, by openly avowing . and justifying it 2. The parliament itself of Paris, the tribunal of justice, heard the harangues of the duke's advocate in defence of affaffination, which he

² La Laboureur, liv xxvii. chap. 23, 24.

C II A i XIX.

termed tyrannicide; and that affembly, partly influenced by faction, partly overawed by power, pronounced no fentence of condemnation against this detestable doctrine 4. The same question was afterwards agitated before the council of Constance; and it was with difficulty that a feeble decision, in favour of the contrary opinion, was procured from these fathers of the church, the ministers of peace and of religion. But the mischievous essects of that tenet, had they been before anywife doubtful, appeared fusficiently from the present incidents. The commillion of this crime, which destroyed all trust and fecurity, rendered the war implacable between the French parties, and cut off every means of peace and accommodation. The princes of the blood, combining with the young duke of Orleans and his brothers, made violent war on the duke of Burgundy; and the unhappy king, seized sometimes by one party, fometimes by the other, transferred alternately to each of them the appearance of legal authority. The provinces were laid waste by mutual depredations: Affassinations were every where committed from the animofity of the feveral leaders; or, what was equally terrible, executions were ordered, without any legal or free trial, by pretended courts of judicature. The whole kingdom was distinguished into two parties, the Burgundians and the Armagnacs; so the adherents of the young duke of Orleans were called, from the count of Armagnac, father-in-law to that prince. The city of Paris, distracted between them, but inclining more to the Burgundians, was a perpetual scene of blood and violence; the king and royal family were often detained captives in the hands of the populace; their faithful ministers were butchered or imprisoned before their face; and it was dangerous for any man, amidst these enraged factions, to be distinguished by

La Laboureur, liv. 27. chap. 27. Monstrelet, chap. 39.

a strict adherence to the principles of probity and CHAP.

1415.

fent

During this scene of general violence, there rose into some consideration a body of men, which usually makes no sigure in public transactions, even during the most peaceful times; and that was the university of Paris, whose opinion was sometimes demanded, and more frequently offered, in the multiplied disputes between the parties. The schism, by which the church was at that time divided, and which occasioned frequent controversies in the univerify, had raifed the professors to an unusual degree of importance; and this connection between literature and superstition had bestowed on the former a weight, to which reason and knowledge are not, of themselves, any wife entitled among men. But there was another fociety whose sentiments were much more decifive at Paris, the fraternity of batchers, who, under the direction of their ringleaders, had declared for the duke of Burgundy, and committed the most violent outrages against the opposite party. To counterbalance their power, the Armagnacs made interest with the fraternity of carpenters; the populace ranged themselves on one side or the other; and the fate of the capital depended on the prevalence of either party.

THE advantage which might be made of these consustions, was easily perceived in England; and, according to the maxims which usually prevail among nations, it was determined to lay hold of the savourable opportunity. The late king, who was courted by both the French parties, somented the quarrel, by alternately sending assistance to each; but the present sovereign, impelled by the vigour of youth, and the ardour of ambition, determined to push his advantages to a greater length, and to carry violent war into that distracted kingdom. But while he was making preparations for this end, he tried to esset his purpose by negociation; and he

C H A P. sent over ambassadors to Paris, ossering a perpetual peace and alliance; but demanding Catharine, the French king's daughter in marriage, two millions of crowns as her portion, one million fix hundred thousand as the arrears of king John's ransom, and the immediate possession and full sovereignty of Normandy, and of all the other provinces which had been ravished from England by the arms of Philip Augustus; together with the superiority of Britanny and Flanders . Such exorbitant demands show that he was fenfible of the present miserable condition of France; and the terms offered by the French court, though much inferior, discover their consciousness of the same melancholy truth. They were willing to give him the princess in marriage, to pay him eight hundred thousand crowns, to resign the entire sovereignty of Guienne, and to annex to that province the country of Perigord, Rovergue, Xaintonge, the Angoumois, and other territories. As Henry rejected these conditions, and scarcely hoped that his own demands would be complied with, he never intermitted a moment his preparations for war, and having affembled a great fleet and army at Southampton, having invited all the nobility and military men of the kingdom to attend him by the hopes of glory and of conquest, he came to the sea-side, with a purpose of embarking on his expedition.

But while Henry was meditating conquests upon his neighbours, he unexpectedly found himself in danger from a conspiracy at home, which was happily detected in its infancy. The carl of Cambridge, fecond fon of the late duke of York, having

b Rymer, vol. ix. p. 208.

[•] Ibid. p. 211. It is reported by fome Liftorians (See Hift. Croyl. Cont. p 500.) that the Dauphin, in derifion of Henry's claims and diffolute character, fent him a box of tennis balls, intimating that these implements of play were better adapted to him than the instruments of wir. But this flory is by no means credible; the great offers made by the court of France fllow that they had already entertained a just idea of Hemy's character, as well as of their own Tituation

espoused the sister of the earl of Marche, had zeal- C H A P. oully embraced the interests of that family; and XIX. had held some conferences with lord Scrope of Masham, and sir Thomas Grey of Heton, about the means of recovering to that nobleman his right to the crown of England. The conspirators, as soon as detected, acknowledged their guilt to the king 4; and Henry proceeded without delay to their trial and condemnation. The utmost that could be expected of the best king in those ages, was, that he would so far observe the essentials of justice, as not to make an innocent person a victim to his severity: But as to the formalities of law, which are often as material as the essentials themselves, they were facrificed without scruple to the least interest or convenience. A jury of commoners was summoned: The three conspirators were indicted before them: The constable of Southampton castle fwore that they had separately confessed their guilt to him: Without other evidence, sir Thomas Grey was condemned and executed: But as the earl of Cambridge and lord Scrope pleaded the privilege of their peerage, Henry thought proper to summon a court of eighteen barons, in which the duke of Clarence presided: The evidence given before the jury was read to them: The prisoners, though one of them was a prince of the blood, were not examined, nor produced in court, nor heard in their own defence; but received sentence of death upon this proof, which was every way irregular and unfatisfactory; and the sentence was soon after executed. The earl of Marche was accused of having given his approbation to the conspiracy, and received a general pardon from the king. He was probably either innocent of the crime imputed to

H

d Rymer, vol. ix. p. 300. T. Livii, p. 8.

e Rymer, vol. ix. p. 303.

CHAP. him, or had made reparation by his early repentance and discovery.

France.

THE successes which the arms of England have, Invasion of in different ages, obtained over those of France, have been much owing to the favourable situation of the former kingdom. The English, happily feated in an island, could make advantage of every misfortune which attended their neighbours, and were little exposed to the danger of reprisals. They never left their own country but when they were conducted by a king of extraordinary genius, or found their enemy divided by intestine factions, or were supported by a powerful alliance on the continent; and as all these circumstances concurred at present to favour their enterprise, they had reason to expect from it proportionable fuccels. The duke of Burgundy, expelled France by a combination of the princes, had been fecretly foliciting the alliance of England 8; and Henry knew that this prince, though he scrupled at first to join the inveterate enemy of his country, would willingly, if he faw any probability of success, both assist him with his Flemish subjects, and draw over to the same side all his numerous partisans in France. Trusting therefore to this circumstance, but without establish-14th Aug. ing any concert with the duke, he put to sea, and landed near Harfleur, at the head of an army of 6000 men at arms, and 24,000 foot, mostly archers. He immediately began the siege of that place, which was valiantly defended by d'Estoüteville, and under him by de Guitri, de Gaucourt, and others of the French nobility: But as the garrison was weak, and the fortifications in bad repair, the governor was at last obliged to capitulate; and he promised to surrender the place if he received no fuccour before the eighteenth of September. The

f St. Remi, chap. lv. Goodwin, p. 65.

² Rymer, vol. ix. p. 137, 138.

day came, and there was no appearance of a French C HAP. army to relieve him. Henry, taking possession of the town, placed a garrison in it, and expelled all the French inhabitants, with an intention of peo-

pling it anew with English.

THE fatigues of this siege, and the unusual heat of the season, had so wasted the English army, that Henry could enter on no farther enterprise; and was obliged to think of returning into England. He had dismissed his transports, which could not anchor in an open road upon the enemy's coasts: And he lay under a necessity of marching by land to Calais, before he could reach a place of safety. A numerous French army of 14,000 men at arms, and 40,000 foot, was by this time affembled in Normandy under the constable d'Albret; a sorce which, if prudently conducted, was sufficient either to trample down the English in the open field, or to harass and reduce to nothing their small army, before they could finish so long and difficult a march. Henry, therefore, cautiously offered to sacrifice his conquest of Harsleur for a safe passage to Calais; but his proposal being rejected, he determined to make his way by valour and conduct through all the opposition of the enemy. That he might not discourage his army by the appearance of flight, or expose them to those hazards which naturally attend precipitate marches, he made flow and deliberate journies, till he reached the Somme, which he purposed to pass at the ford of Blanquetague, the same place where Edward, in a like situation, had before escaped from Philip de Valois. But he found the ford rendered impassable by the precaution of the French general, and guarded by a strong body on the opposite bank 1; and he was obliged to march higher up the river, in order to seek for a safe passage.

1 St. Remi, chap. 58.

De Laboureur, liv. 35. chap. 6. k T. Livii, p. 12.

XIX. 1415.

CHAP. was continually harassed on his march by slying parties of the enemy; saw bodies of troops on the other side ready to oppose every attempt; his pro-visions were cut off; his soldiers languished with fickness and fatigue; and his affairs seemed to be reduced to a desperate situation: When he was so dexterous or so fortunate as to seize by surprize a passage near St. Quintin, which had not been sufficiently guarded; and he safely carried over his army m.

Battle of

Azincour. lais; but he was still exposed to great and im-

HENRY then bent his march northwards to Ca-

minent danger from the enemy, who had also passed the Somme, and threw themselves full in his way, 25th Oa. with a purpose of intercepting his retreat. After he had passed the small river of Ternois at Blangi, he was furprised to observe from the heights the whele French army drawn up in the plains of Azincour, and so posted, that it was impossible for him to proceed on his march without coming to an engagement. Nothing in appearance could be more unequal than the battle, upon which his fafety and all his fortunes now depended. The English army was little more than half the number which had difembarked at Harsleur; and they laboured under every discouragement and necessity. The enemy was four times more numerous; was headed by the dauphin and all the princes of the blood; and was plentifully supplied with provisions of every kind. Henry's situation was exactly similar to that of Edward at Cressy, and that of the Black Prince at Poictiers; and the memory of these great events, inspiring the English with courage, made them hope for a like deliverance from their present difficulties. The king likewise observed the same prudent conduct which had been followed by these great commanders: He drew up his army on a narrow ground

between two woods, which guarded each flank; and C H A P. he patiently expected in that posture the attack of XIX. the enemy ".

1415.

HAD the French constable been able, either to reason justly upon the present circumstances of the two armies, or to profit by past experience, he had declined a combat, and had waited till necessity, obliging the English to advance, had made them relinquish the advantages of their situation. But the impetuous valour of the nobility, and a vain confidence in superior numbers, brought on this fatal action, which proved the source of infinite calamities to their country. The French archers on horseback and their men at arms, crowded in their ranks, advanced upon the English archers, who had fixed pallisadoes in their front to break the impression of the enemy, and who safely plyed them, from behind that defence, with a shower of arrows which nothing could refist. The clay soil, moistened by some rain which had lately fallen, proved another obstacle to the force of the French cavalry: The wounded men and horses discomposed their ranks: The narrow compass in which they were pent, hindered them from recovering any order: The whole army was a scene of confusion, terror, and difinay: And Henry, perceiving his advantage, ordered the English archers, who were light and unincumbered, to advance upon the enemy, and seize the moment of victory. They fell with their battle-axes upon the French, who, in their present posture, were incapable either of flying or of making defence: They hewed them in pieces without resistance P: And being seconded by the men at arms, who also pushed on against the enemy, they covered the field with the killed, wounded, difmounted, and overthrown. After all appearance

[·] Walsingham, p. 392. T. Livii, ⁿ St. Remi, cap. 62. P. 19. Le Laboureur, liv. 35. chap. 7. Monstrelet, chap. 147. P Walfingham, p. 393. Ypod. Neuft. p. 594.

CHAP. of opposition was over, the English had leisure to make prisoners; and having advanced with uninterrupted success to the open plain, they there saw the remains of the French rear guard, which still maintained the appearance of a line of battle. At the same time, they heard an alarm from behind: Some gentlemen of Picardy, having collected about 600 peasants, had fallen upon the English baggage, and were doing execution on the unarmed followers of the camp, who fled before them. Henry, feeing the enemy on all sides of him, began to entertain apprehensions from his prisoners; and he thought it necessary to issue general orders for putting them to death: But on discovering the truth, he stopped the slaughter, and was still able to save a great number.

No battle was ever more fatal to France, by the number of princes and nobility stain or taken prisoners. Among the former were the constable himself, the count of Nevers and the duke of Brabant, brothers to the duke of Burgundy, the count of Vaudemont, brother to the duke of Lorraine, the duke of Alençon, the duke of Barre, the count of Marle. The most eminent prisoners were the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, the counts d'Eu, Vendôme, and Richemont, and the mareschal of Boucicaut. An archbishop of Sens also was slain in this battle. The killed are computed, on the whole, to have amounted to ten thousand men; and as the slaughter fell chiefly upon the cavalry, it is pretended, that of these eight thousand were gentlemen. Henry was master of 14,000 prisoners. The person of chief note, who fell among the English, was the duke of York, who perished fighting by the king's side, and had an end more honourable than his life. He was succeeded in his honours and fortune by his nephew, son of the earl of Cambridge, executed in the beginning of the year. All the English who were slain exceeded not forty; though some writers, with greater proba- C H A P. XIX.

bility, make the number more confiderable.

THE three great battles of Cressy, Poictiers, and Azincour, bear a singular resemblance to each other in their most considerable circumstances. In all of them, there appears the same temerity in the English princes, who without any object of moment, merely for the sake of plunder, had ventured so far into the enemies country as to leave themselves no retreat; and unless faved by the utmost imprudence in the French commanders, were, from their very situation, exposed to inevitable destruction. But allowance being made for this temerity, which, according to the irregular plans of war followed in those ages, seems to have been, in some measure, unavoidable; there appears in the day of action, the same presence of mind, dexterity, courage, firmness, and precaution, on the part of the English: The same precipitation, confusion, and vain confidence, on the part of the French: And the events were fuch as might have been expected from such opposite conduct. The immediate consequences too of these three great victories were similar: Instead of pushing the French with vigour, and taking advantage of their consternation, the English princes after their victory, seem rather to have relaxed their efforts, and to have allowed the enemy leifure to recover from his losses. Henry interrupted not his march a moment after the battle of Azincour; he carried his prisoners to Calais, thence to England; he even concluded a truce with the enemy; and it was not till after an interval of two years that any body of English troops appeared in France.

THE poverty of all the European princes, and the small resources of their kingdoms, were the cause of these continual interruptions in their hostilities; and though the maxims of war were in general destructive, their military operations were mere incursions,

H 4

which,

C HAP. which, without any settled plan, they carried on against each other. The lustre, however, attending the victory of Azincour, procured some supplies from the English parliament, though still unequal to the expences of a campaign. They granted Henry an entire fifteenth of moveables; and they conferred on him, for life, the duties of tonnage and poundage, and the subsidies on the exportation of wool and leather. This concession is more considerable than that which had been granted to Richard II. by his last parliament, and which was afterwards, on his deposition, made so great an article of charge against him.

State of France.

Bur during this interruption of hospilities from England, France was exposed to all the furies of civil war; and the several parties became every day more enraged against each other. The duke of Burgundy, confident that the French ministers and generals were entirely discredited by the missortune at Azincour, advanced with a great army to Paris, and attempted to reinstate himself in possession of the government, as well as of the person of the king. But his partisans in that city were overawed by the court, and kept in subjection: The duke despaired of success; and he retired with his forces, which he immediately disbanded in the Low Countries. He was foon after invited to make a new attempt, by some violent quarrels which broke out in the royal family. The queen Isabella, daughter of the duke of Bavaria, who had been hitherto an inveterate enemy to the Burgundian faction, had received a great injury from the other party, which the implacable spirit of that princess was never able to forgive. The publick necessities obliged the count of Armagnac, created constable of France in the place of d'Albret, to seize the great treasures which Isabella had amassed: And when she expressed her displeasure at this

1417.

injury, he inspired into the weak mind of the king CHAP. some jealousies concerning her conduct, and pushed XIX. him to seize and put to the torture, and afterwards throw into the Seine, Bois-bourdon, her favourite, whom he accused of a commerce of gallantry with that princess. The queen herself was sent to Tours, and confined under a guard'; and, after suffering these multiplied insults, she no longer scrupled to enter into a correspondence with the duke of Burgundy. As her fon, the dauphin Charles, a youth of fixteen, was entirely governed by the faction of Armagnac, she extended her animosity to him, and fought his destruction with the most unrelenting hatred. She had foon an opportunity of rendering her unnatural purpose effectual. The duke of Burgundy, in concert with her, entered France at the head of a great army: He made himself master of Amiens, Abbeville, Dourlens, Montreüil, and other towns in Picardy; Senlis, Rheims, Chalons, Troye, and Auxerre, declared themselves of his party. He got possession of Beaumont, Pontoise, Vernon, Meulant, Montlheri, towns in the neighbourhood of Paris; and carrying farther his progress towards the west, he feized Etampes, Chartres, and other fortresses; and was at last able to deliver the queen, who fled

MEANWHILE the partifans of Burgundy raised a commotion in Paris, which always inclined to that faction. Lile-Adam, one of the duke's captains, was received into the city in the night-time, and headed the insurrection of the people, which in a moment became so impetuous that nothing could oppose it. The person of the king was seized: The dauphin made his escape with difficulty: Great numbers of the faction of Armagnac were immediately butchered: The count himself, and many persons of note, were

to Troye, and openly declared against those ministers

who, she said, detained her husband in captivity .

St. Remi, chap 74. Monstrelet, chap. 167. St. Remi, chap. 79. Ibid. chap. 81. Monstrelet, chap. 178, 179.

XIX. 1417.

CHAP. thrown into prison: Murders were daily committed from private animofity, under pretence of faction: And the populace, not fatiated with their fury, and deeming the course of public justice too dilatory, broke into the prisons, and put to death the count of Armagnac, and all the other nobility who were there confined 4.

New invenon of France. sit Aug.

3418.

WHILE France was in fuch furious combustion, and was fo ill prepared to resist a foreign enemy, Henry, having collected some treasure, and levied an army, landed in Normandy at the head of twentyfive thousand men; and met with no considerable opposition from any quarter. He made himself master of Falaise; Evreux and Caen submitted to him; Pont de l'Arche opened its gates; and Henry, having subdued all the lower Normandy, and having received a reinforcement of sitteen thousand men from England w, formed the siege of Rouen, which was defended by a garrison of four thousand men, seconded by the inhabitants, to the number of fifteen thousand *. The cardinal des Ursins here attempted to incline him towards peace, and to moderate his pretensions: But the king replied to him in such terms, as shewed that he was fully sensible of all his present advantages: "Do you not see," said he, that God has led me hither as by the hand? France " has no fovereign: I have just pretensions to that "kingdom: Every thing is here in the utmost con-" fusion: No one thinks of resisting me. Can I have " a more sensible proof, that the Being who disposes " of empires, has determined to put the crown of "France upon my head '?"

Bur though Henry had opened his mind to this scheme of ambition, he still continued to negotiate with his enemies, and endeavoured to obtain more secure, though less considerable advantages.

w Wal-" St. Remi, chap. 85, 86. Monstrelet, chap. x18. z St. Remi, chap 92. y Juvenal fingham, p. 400. des Urha.

made, at the same time, offers of peace to both par- CHAP. ties; to the queen and duke of Burgundy on the one XIX. hand, who, having possession of the king's person, carried the appearance of legal authority z; and to the dauphin on the other, who, being the undoubted heir of the monarchy, was adhered to by every one that payed any regard to the true interests of their country. These two parties also carried on a continual negociation with each other. The terms proposed on all sides were perpetually varying: The events of the war, and the intrigues of the cabinet, intermingled with each other: And the fate of France remained long in this uncertainty. After many negociations, Henry offered the queen and the duke of Burgundy to make peace with them, to espouse the princess Catharine, and to accept of all the provinces ceded to Edward III. by the treaty of Bretigni, with the addition of Normandy, which he was to receive in full and entire sovereignty b. These terms were submitted to: There remained only some circumstances to adjust, in order to the entire completion of the treaty: But in this interval the duke of Burgundy fecretly finished his treaty with the dauphin; and these two princes agreed to share the royal authority during king Charles's lifetime, and to unite their arms in order to expel foreign enemies c.

This alliance, which seemed to cut off from Henry all hopes of farther success, proved, in the issue, the most favourable event that could have happened for his pretensions. Whether the dauphin and the duke of Burgundy were ever sincere in their mutual engagements, is uncertain; but very fatal effects refulted from their momentary and seeming union. The two princes agreed to an interview, in order to concert the means of rendering effectual their common attack on the English; but how both or either of them could with safety venture upon this confer-

² Rymer, vol. ix. p. 717. 749. • Ibid. p. 626, &c.

b Ibid. p. 761. • Ibid. p. 776. St. Remi, chap. 95.

XIX. 1419.

CHAP. ence, it seemed somewhat difficult to contrive. The affassination perpetrated by the duke of Burgundy, and still more, his open avowal of the deed, and defence of the doctrine, tended to dissolve all the bands of civil fociety; and even men of honour, who detested the example, might deem it just, on a favourable opportunity, to retaliate upon the author. The duke, therefore, who neither dared to give, nor could pretend to expect, any trust, agreed to all the contrivances for mutual fecurity which were proposed by the ministers of the dauphin. The two princes came to Montereau: The duke lodged in the castle: The dauphin in the town, which was divided from the castle by the river Yonne: The bridge between them was chosen for the place of interview: Two high rails were drawn across the bridge: The gates on each side were guarded, one by the officers of the dauphin, the other by those of the duke: The princes were to enter into the intermediate space by the opposite gates, accompanied each by ten persons; and, with all these marks of dissidence, to conciliate their mutual friendship. But it appeared that no precautions are sufficient where laws have no place, and where all principles of honour are utterly abandoned. Tannegui de Chatel, and others of the dauphin's retainers, had been zealous partifans of the late duke of Orleans; and they determined to seize the opportunity of revenging on the assassin the murder of that prince: They no sooner entered the rails, than they tion of the drew their swords and attacked the duke of Burgundy: His friends were aftonished, and thought not of making any defence; and all of them either shared his fate, or were taken prisoners by the retinue of the dauphin ".

duke of Burgundy.

> THE extreme youth of this prince made it doubtful whether he had been admitted into the secret of the conspiracy: But as the deed was committed

St. Remi, chap. 97. Monstrelet, chap. 211.

under his eye, by his most intimate friends, who CHAP. still retained their connexions with him, the blame of the action, which was certainly more imprudent than criminal, fell entirely upon him. The whole state of affairs was every where changed by this unexpected incident. The city of Paris, passionately devoted to the family of Burgundy, broke out into the highest fury against the dauphin. The court of king Charles entered from interest into the same views; and as all the ministers of that monarch had owed their preferment to the late duke, and foresaw their downfall if the dauphin should recover possession of his father's person, they were concerned to prevent, by any means, the fuccess of his enterprise. The queen, persevering in her unnatural animosity against her son, encreased the general slame, and inspired into the king, as far as he was susceptible of any fentiment, the same prejudices by which she herself had long been actuated. But above all, Philip count of Charolois, now duke of Burgundy, thought himself bound, by every tie of honour and of duty, to revenge the murder of his father, and to profecute the affaffin to the utmost extremity. And in this general transport of rage, every consideration of national and family interest was buried in obli-vion by all parties: The subjection to a foreign enemy, the expulsion of the lawful heir, the slavery of the kingdom, appeared but small evils if they led to the gratification of the present passion.

THE king of England had, before the death of the duke of Burgundy, profited extremely by the distractions of France, and was daily making a considerable progress in Normandy. He had taken Rouen after an obstinate siegee: He had made himself master of Pontoise and Gisors: He even threatened Paris, and by the terror of his arms had obliged the court to remove to Troye: And in the

T. Livii, p. 69. Monstrelet, chap. 201.

XIX. 1419.

1420.

C H A P. midst of his successes, he was agreeably surprised to find his enemics, instead of combining against him for their mutual defence, disposed to rush into his arms, and to make him the instrument of their vengeance upon each other. A league was immediately concluded at Arras between him and the duke of Burgundy. This prince, without stipulating any thing for himself, except the prosecution of his father's murder, and the marriage of the duke of Bedford with his fifter, was willing to facrifice the kingdom to Henry's ambition; and he agreed to every demand made by that monarch. In order to finith this astonishing treaty, which was to transfer the crown of France to a stranger, Henry went to Troye, accompanied by his brothers, the dukes of Clarence and Glocester; and was there met by the duke of Burgundy. The imbecility into which Charles had fallen, made him incapable of feeing any thing but through the eyes of those who attended him; as the,, on their part, faw every thing through the medium of their passions. The treaty, being alleady concerted among the parties, was immediately drawn, and figned, and ratified: Henry's will feemed to be a law throughout the whole negociation: Nothing was attended to but his advantages.

Treaty of Troye.

THE principal articles of the treaty were, that Henry should espouse the princess Catharine: That king Charles, during his life-time, should enjoy the title and dignity of king of France: That Henry should be declared and acknowledged heir of the monarchy, and be entrusted with the present administration of the government: That that kingdom should pass to his heirs general: That France and England should for ever be united under one king; but should still retain their several usages, customs, and privileges: That all the princes, peers, vassals, and communities of France should swear, that they would both adhere to the future succession of Henry,

and

and pay him present obedience as regent: That this CHAP. prince should unite his arms to those of king Charles and the duke of Burgundy, in order to subdue the adherents of Charles the pretended dauphin: And that these three princes should make no peace or truce with him but by common confent and agreement'.

1420.

Buch was the tenour of this famous treaty; a treaty which, as nothing but the most violent animosity could dictate it, so nothing but the power of the fword could carry into execution. It is hard to fay whether its consequences, had it taken essect, would have proved more pernicious to England or to France. It must have reduced the former kingdom to the rank of a province: It would have entirely difjointed the fucceillon of the latter, and have brought on the destruction of every descendant of the royal family; as the houses of Orleans, Anjou, Alengon, Britanny, Bourbon, and of Burgundy itself, whose titles were preferable to that of the English princes, would, on that account, have been exposed to perpetual jealoufy and perfecution from the fovereign. There was even a palpable deficiency in Henry's claim, which no art could palliate. For, besides the insuperable objections to which Edward IIId's pretensions were exposed, he was not heir to that monarch: If female faccession were admitted, the right had devolved on the house of Mortimer: Allowing that Richard II. was a tyrant, and that Henry IVth's merits in deposing him were so great towards the English, as to justify that nation in placing him on the throne; Richard had nowife offended France, and his rival had merited nothing of that kingdom: It could not possibly be pretended that the crown of France was become an appendage to that of England; and that a prince who, by any means, got possession of the latter, was, without far-

t Rymer, vol. ix. p. 895. St. Remi, chap. 101 Monstrelet, chap. 223.

C H A P. ther question, entitled to the former. So that, or XIX. the whole, it must be allowed that Henry's claim to France was, if possible, still more unintelligible than the title by which his father had mounted the throne of England.

> Bur though all these considerations were overlooked, amidit the hurry of passion by which the courts of France and Burgundy were actuated, they would necessarily revive during times of more tranquillity; and it behoved Henry to push his present advantages, and allow men no leisure for reason or reflection. In a few days after he espoused the princess Catharine: He carried his father-in-law to Paris, and put himself in possession of that capital: He obtained, from the parliament and the three estates, a ratification of the treaty of Troye: He supported the duke of Burgundy in procuring a sentence against the murderers of his father: And he immediately turned his arms, with success, against the adherents of the daup iin, who, as foon as he heard of the treaty of Troye, took on him the style and authority of regent, and appealed to God and his sword for the maintenance of his title.

> THE first place that Henry subdued was Sens, which opened its gates after a flight refistance. With the same facility he made himself master of Montereau. The defence of Melun was more obstinate: Barbasan, the governor, held out for the space of four months against the besiegers; and it was famine alone which obliged him to capitulate. Henry stipulated to spare the lives of all the garrison, except fuch as were accomplices in the murder of the duke of Burgundy; and as Barbasan himself was suspected to be of the number, his punishment was demanded by Philip: But the king had the generofity to intercede for him, and to prevent his execution s.

Marriage of the king.

XIX.

1421.

THE necessity of providing supplies, both of men CHAP. and money, obliged Henry to go over to England; and he left the duke of Exeter, his uncle, governor of Paris during his absence. The authority which naturally attends fuccefs, procured from the English parliament a fubfidy of a fifteenth; but, if we may udge by the feantiness of the supply, the nation was nowife fanguine on their king's victories; and in proportion as the prospect of their union with France became neater, they began to open their eyes, and to fee the dangerous confequences with which that event must necessarily be attended. It was fortunate for Henry, that he had other refources belides pecuniny happlies from his native fubjects. The prosince which he had already conquered maintained bis moops: and the hopes of fartger a trantages alfored to his Handard all men of ambition: fpirits in England, who defired to fignalife themselves by urms. He levied a new army of twenty-four thouland erchers and four thousand horsemen; and marched

hallened the king's embarkation. Tun detention of the young king of Scots in kingland had hitherto proved advantageous to Henry; and, by keeping the regent in awe, had preferved, during the whole course of the French war, the northun neutier in tranquillity. But when intelligence arrived in Scotland of the progress made by Henry, and the near prospect of his succession to the crown of France, the nation was alarmed, and forefaw their own inevitable ruin, if the subjection of their ally lest them to combat alone a victorious enemy, who was already to much superior in power and riches. The regent entered into the same views; and though

them to Dover, the place of rendezvous. Every

thing had remained in tranquillity at Paris under the

duke of Exeter; but there had happened, in an-

piper quarter of the kingdom, a misfortune which

 MX_{i} 1 121.

CHAP he declined an open rupture with England, he permittelace ly of feven thousand Scots, under the command of the earl of Buchan, his fecond fon, to be transported into France for the service of the dauphin. To render this aid inchestal, Henry had, in his firmer expedition, carried over the king of Scots, whom he charged to fend orders to his countrymen to have the French service; but the Scottish general replied, that he would obey no commands which came from a king in captivity, and that a prince, while in the hands of his enemy, was nowife entitled to authority. Thefe troops, therefore, continued full to act under the earl of Buchan; and were empleyed by the dauphin to oppose the progress of the duke of Chrence in Anjou. The two armies encountered at Brugé: The English were defeated: The duke himself was flain by ar Allan Swinton, a So teh knight, who commanded a company of men at arms: And the carls of Somerfet', Dorfet, and Huntingdon, were taken prisoners. This was the first action that turned the tide of success against the English; and the dauphin, that he might both attach the Scotch to his fervice, and reward the vaiour and conduct of the earl of Buchan, honoured that nobleman with the office of constable.

> Bur the arrival of the king of England with fo confiderable an army, was more than fusicient to repair this lofs. Henry was received at Paris with great expressions of joy; so obttinate were the prejudices of the people: And he immediately conducted his army to Chartres, which had long been believed by the dauphin. That prince railed the flege on the approach of the langish; and being relabled to decline a battle, he retired with his

It is name was John, and he was afterwards created duke of Sawaich H. van mandion of Johnson O und dake of Lancafter-The Protect Dockt was brother to Science, and succeeded him in * 11 1 10.

had Rent top rio. Mondrelet, chap. 229. Hall, fet. 76.

army!. Henry made himfelf mafter of Preux with- CHAP. out a blow: He laid flege to Meaux at the folicitation of the Parilians, who were much incommoded by the garrison of that place. This enterprise employed the English arms during the space of eight months: The baltard of Vaurus, governor of Meaux, diffinguithed himfelf by an oblinate defence; but was at last obliged to furrender at differetion. The cruelty of this officer was equal to his bravery: He was accustomed to hang, without distinction, all the English and Burgundians who fell into his hands: And Henry, in revenge of his barbarity, ordered him immediately to be hanged on the fame tree which he had made the instrument of his inhuman executions 5.

Thus fuccess was followed by the furrender of many other places in the neighbourhood of Paris, which held for the daught of That prime var chaled beyond the Loice, and be almost totally abandoned all the northern provinces: He was even purioed into the fourth by the united arms of the English and Burgundians, and threatened with that defirmetion. Notwithstanding the bravery and "Ality of his captains, he law himf. 's enemied to it commen in the field; and found a notify to tany wife, me or around on hazard as actions whith a rival, who had gained for much the effected on the rehim. And to crown all the other prosperities of Henry, his queen was delivered of a fon, who was called by his father's name, and whose birth was colebrated by rejoicings no less pompeus, and no less mie-re, at Paris than at London. The indust prince feemed to be univerfally regarded as the future heir of both monarchies.

Bur the glory of Henry, when it had nearly reached the fummit, was stopped short by the hand

T 4 2 2. Deatin

¹ St. Remi, chap. 3. m Rymer, vol. n p 212. T. Livii, P. 92. 93 St. Remi, Chap. 116. Mentirelet, chap 265.

C H A XIX

of nature; and all his mighty projects vanished into fmoke. He was feized with a fiftula, a malady which the furgeous at that time had not skill enough to cure; and he was at lall sensible that his distemper was mortal, and that his end was approaching. He fent for his brother the duke of Bedford, the earl of Warwic, and a few poblemen more, whom he had honoured with his friendship, and he delivered to them, in great tranquillity, his lad will with regard to the government of his kingdom and family. He entreated them to continue, towards his infant lon, the fame fidelity and attachment which they had always probabled to himself during his lifetime and which had been comented by to many mutual good offices. He expected his indifference on the approach of death; and, though he regretted that he mult leave untimitied a work to happily begun, he declared him: Confident, that the final acquifition of France would be the eal it of their prudence and valour. He left the regency of that kingdom to his cider brother the duke of Bedford; that of England to his younger, the duke of Gloceffer; and the care of his ton's perion to the carl of Warwic. He recommended to all of them a great attention to maintain the friendship of the duke of Burgundy; and advised them never to give liberty to the French princes taken at Azincour, till his fou were of age, and could handelf hold the reins of government. And he conjured them, if the fuccels of their arms should not enable them to place young Henry on the throne of France, never, at least, to make peace with that kingdom, unless the enemy, by the cellion of Normandy, and its annexation to the crown of Lugland, made compensation for all the hazard and expence of his enterprise.

His next applied himself to his devotions, and ordered his chaplain to recite the seven penitential pfalms. When that passage of the fifty-first psalm CHAP. a read, build thou the realls of Jerufalem; he in- XIX. arrupted the chaplain, and declared his ferious intention, after he should have fully subdued France, to conduct a crufade against the insidels, and recoser possession of the Holy Land . So ingenious are men in deceiving themselves, that Henry forgot, in thole moments, all the blood spilt by his ambition; and received comfort from this late and feeble retolve, which, as the mode of thefe enterprites was now past, he certainly would never have carried into exaction. He expired in the thirty-fourth year of 31th Aug.

his are and the tenth of his reign.

Trus prince possessed many eminent virtues; and and character 22 if we give indulgence to ambition in a monarch, or the kieg rank it, as the vulgar are inclined to do, among his

virtues, they were unflained by any confiderable blemid. His abilities appeared equally in the cabinet and in the field: The boldness of his enterprises was no les remarkable than his perfonal valour in condecing them. He had the talent of attaching his That s by allability, and of gaining his enemies by telds a mor elemency. The English, dazzled by the hadre of his character, still more than by that of he victories, were reconciled to the defects in his title: The French almost forgot that he was an enemy: And his care in maintaining justice in his civil administration, and preserving discipline in his armes, made fome amends to both nations for the calamities inteparable from those wars in which his thort reign was almost entirely occupied. That he could forgive the earl of Marche, who had a better title to the crown than himself, is a fure indication of In magnanimity; and that the earl relied fo entirely on his friendship, is no less a proof of his established character for candour and fincerity. There remain

in history few inflances of fuch mutual trust; and

1422.

e et Remi, chap 118 Monstrelet, chap 265.

CHAP. fill fewer where neither party found reason to re-

F.; 22.

THE exterior figure of this great prince, as well as his deportment, was engaging. His flature was fomewhat above the middle fize; his countenance beautiful; his limbs genteel and flender, but full of vigour; and he excelled in all warlike and manly exercises. He left, by his queen, Catherine of France, only one son, not full nine months old; whose mistortunes, in the course of his life, surpassed all the glories and successes of his father.

In less than two months after Henry's death, Charles VI. or France, his father-in-law, terminated his unhappy life. He had, for feveral years, pos-fessed only the appearance of confiderable advantage to the English; and divided the daty and affections of the French between them and the dauphin. This prince was proclaimed and crowned king of France at Poictiers, by the name of Charles VII. Rheims, the place where this ceremony is usually performed, was at that time in the hands of his enemies.

CATHERINE of France, Henry's widow, married, foon after his death, a Wellh gentleman, Sir Owen Tudor, faid to be defeended from the ancient princes of that country: She bore him two fons, Edmund and Jasper, of whom the eldest was created earl of Richmond: the second earl of Pembroke. The family of Tudor, first raked to elithetten by this alliance, mounted afterwards the element of England.

Mifcellaneous tronfactions.

The long fehifin, which had divided the Latin church for near forty years, was finally terminated in this reign by the council of Confiance; which depoied the pope, John XXIII, for his crimes, and elected Martin V. in his place, who was acknowledged by almost all the kingdom; of Europe. This great and unusual act of authority in the council

gave the Roman pontiffs ever after a mortal anti- CHAP. pathy to those assemblies. The same jealousy which XIX. had long prevailed in most European countries, between the civil aristrocacy and monarchy, now also took place between these powers in the ecclesiastical body. But the great separation of the bishops in the several states, and the difficulty of assembling them, gave the pope a mighty advantage, and made it more cafy for him to centre all the powers of the hierarchy in his own person. The cruelty and treachery which attended the punishment of John Huss and lerome of Prague, the unhappy disciples of Wickliffe, who, in violation of a fafe conduct, were burned alive for their errors by the council of Constance, prove this melancholy truth, that toleration is none of the virtues of prieffs in any form of ecclefiaftical government. But as the English nation had little or no concern in these great transactions, we are here the more concife in relating them.

The first commission of array which we meet with, was issued in this reign 4. The inilitary part of the scudal system, which was the most estential circumstance of it, was entirely dissolved; and could no longer serve for the desence of the kingdom. Henry, therefore, when he went to France in 1415, impowered certain commissioners to take, in each county, a review of all the freemen able to bear arms, to divide them into companies, and to keep them in readingly for resisting an enemy. This was the tera when the seudal militia in England gave place to one which was perhaps still less orderly and regular.

We have an authentic and exact account of the ordinary revenue of the crown during this reign; and it amounts only to 55,714 pounds to shillings and 10 pence a year! This is nearly the same with the revenue of Henry III. and the kings of Eng-

Pymer, vol. iv. p. 254, 255

Rymer, vol. x p. 113.

C H A P. land had neither become much richer nor poorer in the course of so many years. The ordinary expence of the government amounted to 42,507 pounds 16 fhillings and to pence: So that the king had a furplus only of 13,2:6 pounds 14 shillings for the support of his houlehold; for his wordrobe; for the expence of embassics; and other articles. This sum was nowife fufficient: II was therefore obliged to have frequent recourse parliamentary supplies, and was thus, even in time of peace, not altogether independent of his people. But wars were attended with a great expence, which is other the prince's ordinary revenue, nor the extraordinary supplies, were able to bear; and the fovercion v - always reduced to many miscrable shifts, in cader to make any tolerable figure in them. He commonly berrowed money from all quarters; he paymed his jewels, and fometimes the crown itself; he ran in arrears to his army; and he was often obliged, notwithstanding all these expedients, to stop in the midd of his career of victory, and to grant truces to the enemy. The high pay which was given to foldiers agreed very ill with this low income. All the extraordinary supplies granted by parliament to Henry during the course of his reign, were only seven tenths and fifteenths, about 203,000 pounds. It is easy to compute how foon this money must be exhausted by armies of 24,000 archers, and 6000 horse; when each archer had fix-pence a day", and each horseman two shillings. The most splendid successes proved commonly fruitless, when supported by so poor a revenue; and the debts and difficulties which the king thereby incurred made him pay dear for his victories. The civil administration like-

^{*} Rymer, vol. x.p. 190. * Parliamentary Hiftory, vol. ii. p. 168.

[&]quot; It appears from many passages of Rymer, particularly vol. ixp. 258. hat the king paid 20 marks a year for an archer, which is a good deal above fix-nence a day. The price had rifen, as is natural, by raising the demonination of money. wise,

wife, even in time of peace, could never be very re- C H A P. gular, where the government was so ill enabled to XIX. Support itself. Henry, till within a year of his death, owed debts which he had contracted when prince of Wales w. It was in vain that the parliament pretended to restrain him from arbitrary practices, when he was reduced to fuch necessities. Though the right of levying purveyance, for instance, had been expressly guarded against by the Great Charter itself, and was frequently complained of by the commons, it was found absolutely impracticable to abolish it; and the parliament at length, submitting to it as a legal prerogative, contented themselves with enacting laws to limit and confine it. The duke of Glocetter, in the reign of Richard II. possessed a revenue of 60,000 crowns (about 30,000 pounds a year of our present money), as we learn from Froisfard *, and was, confequently, richer than the king himfelf, it all circumitances be culv confidered.

In is remarkable, that the city of Calais alone was ar annual expence to the crown of 19,119 pounds ,; that is, above a third of the common charge of the government in time of peace. This fortrels was of no we to the defence of England, and only gave that king dom an inlet to annoy France. Ireland cost two the utand pounds a year, over and above its own revenue; which was certainly very low. Every thing conspires to give us a very mean idea of the state of Europe in those ages.

From the most carly times, till the reign of Edward III. the denomination of money had never been altered: A pound sterling was still a pound troy; that is, about three pounds of our present money. That conqueror was the first that innovated in this important article. In the twentieth of his reign he coined twenty-two shillings from

w Rymer, vol. x. p. 114. x Liv. iv. chap. 86. y Rymer. vol. x. p 113.

twenty-five shillings. But Henry V. who was also a conqueror, raised still farther the denomination, and coined thirty shillings from a pound troy:

His revenue, therefore, must have been about 110,000 pounds of our present money; and, by the cheapness of provisions, was equivalent to above

None of the princes of the house of Lancaster ventured to impose taxes without consent of parliament: Their doubtful or bad title became so far of advantage to the constitution. The rule was then fixed, and could not safely be broken afterwards, even by more absolute princes.

² Flectwood's Chronicon Preciosum, p. 52.



Lublighed March I 1785, by T Could Strand

CHAP. XX.

HENRY VI.

Government during the minority——State of France — Military operations — Battle of Verneüil ---Siege of Orleans --- The maid of Orleans - The siege of Orleans raised The king of France crowned at Rheims—Prudence of the duke of Bedford—Execution of the maid of Orleans—Defection of the duke of Burgundy—Death of the duke of Bedford—Decline of the English in France — Truce with France — Marriage of the king with Margaret of Anjou --- Murder of the duke of Glocester-State of France — Renewal of the war with France— The English expelled France.

URING the reigns of the Lancastrian princes, CHAP. the authority of parliament seems to have been XX. more confirmed, and the privileges of the people more regarded, than during any former period; and the two preceding kings, though men of great spirit and abilities, abstained from such exertions of prerogative, as even weak princes, whose title was undisputed, were tempted to think they might venture upon with impunity. The long minority, of which there was now the prospect, encouraged still farther the lords and commons to extend their influence; and without paying much regard to the verbal destination of Henry V. they assumed the power of giving a new arrangement to the whole administration. They declined altogether the name of Regent with regard to England: They appointed

1422. Government during the minority.

the

C H A I XX. the duke of Bedford protector or guardian of that kingdom, a title which they supposed to imply less authority: They invested the duke of Glocester with the same dignity during the absence of his elder brother. And, in order to limit the power of both these princes, they appointed a council without whose advice and approbation no measure of importance could be determined. The person and education of the infant prince was committed to Henry Beausert, bishop of Winchester, his great uncle, and the legitimated fon of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster; a prelate who, as his family could never have any pretentions to the crown, might fafely, they thought, be intruffed with that important charge. The two princes, the dukes of Bedford and Glocester, who seemed injured by this plan of government, yet, being persons of great integrity and honour, acquiefced in any appointment which tended to give fecurity to the public; and as the wars in France appeared to be the object of greatest moment, they avoided every dispute which might throw an obstacle in the way of foreign conquests.

State of France.

When the state of affairs between the English and French kings was considered with a superficial cye, every advantage seemed to be on the side of the former; and the total expulsion of Charles appeared to be an event which might naturally be expected from the superior power of his competitor. Though Henry was yet in his infancy, the administration was devolved on the duke of Bedford, the most accomplished prince of his age; whose experience, prudence, valour, and generosity, qualified him for his high office, and enabled him both to maintain union among his friends, and to gain the considence of his ene-

Rymer, vol. x. p. 261. Cotton, p. 564. b Cotton, p. 564.

⁼ Hall, fol. 83. Monstrelet. vol. ii p. 27.

mies. The whole power of England was at his chap. command: He was at the head of armies enured to victory: He was feconded by the most renowned generals of the age, the earls of Somerset, Warwic, Salisbury, Suffolk, and Arundel, Sir John Talbot, and Sir John Fastolse: And besides Guienne, the ancient inheritance of England, he was master of the capital, and of almost all the northern provinces, which were well enabled to furnish him with supplies both of men and money, and to assist and support his English forces.

Bur Charles, notwithstanding the present inferiority of his power, possessed some advantages, derived partly from his fituation, partly from his personal character, which promited him success, and ferved, first to control, then to overbalance the fuperior force and opulence of his enemies. He was the true and undoubted heir of the monarchy: All Frenchmen, who knew the interests, or defired the independence of their country, turned their eyes towards him as its fole refource: The exclusion given him by the imbecility of his father, and the forced or precipitate confent of the states, had plainly no validity: That spirit of faction, which had blinded the people, could not long hold them in fo groß a delufion: Their national and inveterate hatred against the English, the authors of all their calamities, must toon revive, and inspire them with indignation at bending their necks under the yoke of that helile people: Great nobles and princes, accustomed to maintain an independence against their native sovereigns, would never endure a subjection to strangers: And though most of the princes of the blood were, since the fatal battle of Azincour, detained prisoners in England, the inhabitants of their demesnes, their friends, their vassals, all declared a zealous attachment to the king, and exerted themselves in resisting the violence of foreign invaders.

C H A P. XX.

CHARLES himself, though only in his twentieth year, was of a character well calculated to become the object of these benevolent sentiments; and, perhaps, from the favour which naturally attends youth, was the more likely, on account of his tender age, to acquire the good-will of his native subjects. He was a prince of the most friendly and benign disposition, of easy and familiar manners, and of a just and sound, though not a very vigorous understanding. Sincere, generous, affable, he engaged, from affection, the fervices of his followers, even while his low fortunes might make it their interest to desert him; and the lenity of his temper could pardon in them those fallies of discontent to which princes in his fituation are fo frequently exposed. The love, of pleasure often seduced him into indolence; but, amidst all his irregularities, the goodness of his heart still shone forth; and, by exerting at intervals his courage and activity, he proved, that his general remissiness proceeded not from the want, either of a just spirit of ambition, or of personal valour.

Though the virtues of this amiable prince lay fome time in obscurity, the duke of Bedford knew that his title alone made him formidable, and that every foreign assistance would be requisite, ere an English regent could hope to complete the conquest of France; an enterprise which, however it might feem to be much advanced, was still exposed to many and great difficulties. The chief circumstance which had procured to the English all their present advantages was the resentment of the duke of Burgundy against Charles; and as that prince seemed intent rather on gratifying his passion than consulting his interests, it was the more easy for the regent, by demonstrations of respect and confidence, to retain him in the alliance of England. He bent therefore all his endeavours to that purpose: He gave the duke every proof of friendship and regard:

He

He even offered him the regency of France, which CHAP. Philip declined: And that he might corroborate national connexions by private ties, he concluded his own marriage with the princess of Burgundy, which had been stipulated by the treaty of Arras.

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Being sensible, that next to the alliance of Burgundy, the friendship of the Duke of Britanny was of the greatest importance towards forwarding the English conquests; and that, as the provinces of France, already subdued, lay between the dominions of these two princes, he could never hope for any fecurity, without preferving his connexions with them; he was very intent on strengthening himself also from that quarter. The duke of Britanny, having received many just reasons of difpleasure from the ministers of Charles, had already acceded to the treaty of Troye, and had, with other vaffals of the crown, done homage to Henry V. in quality of heir to the kingdom: But as the regent knew, that the duke was much governed by his brother, the count of Richemont, he endeavoured to fix his friendship, by paying court and doing fervices to this haughty and ambitious prince.

ARTHUR, count of Richemont, had been taken prisoner at the battle of Azincour, had been treated with great indulgence by the late king, and had even been permitted on his parole to take a journey into Britanny, where the state of assairs required his presence. The death of that victorious monarch happened before Richemont's return; and 17th Apr. this prince pretended, that, as his word was given personally to Henry V. he was not bound to fulfil it towards his fon and fucceffor: A chicane which the regent, as he could not force him to compliance, deemed it prudent to overlook. An interview was settled at Amiens between the dukes of Bedford, Burgundy, and Britanny, at which the count of Richemont was also present d. The alli-

d Hall, fol. 84. Monstrelet, vol. i. p. 4. Stowe, p. 364.

CHAP. ance was renewed between these princes: And the regent persuaded Philip to give in marriage to Richemont his eldest sister, widow of the deceased dauphin, Lewis, the elder brother of Charles. Thus Arthur was connected both with the regent and the duke of Burgundy, and seemed engaged by interest to profecute the same object; in forwarding the fuccess of the English arms.

> WHILE the vigilance of the duke of Bedford was employed in gaining or confirming these allies, whose vicinity rendered them so important, he did not overlook the state of more remote countries. The duke of Albany, regent of Scotland, had died; and his power had devolved on Murdac, his fon, a prince of a weak understanding and indolent difposition; who, far from possessing the talents requisite for the government of that sierce people, was not even able to maintain authority in his own family, or restrain the petulance and insolence of his fons. The ardour of the Scots to serve in France, where Charles treated them with great honour and distinction, and where the regent's brother enjoyed the dignity of constable, broke out afresh under this feeble administration: New succours daily came over, and filled the armies of the French king: The earl of Douglas conducted a reinforcement of 5000 men to his assistance: And it was justly to be dreaded that the Scots, by commencing open hostilities in the north, would occasion a diversion still more considerable of the English power, and would ease Charles, in part, of that load by which he was at present to grievously oppressed. The duke of Bedford, therefore, perfuaded the English council to form an alliance with James their prisoner; to free that prince from his long captivity; and to connect him with England by marrying him to a daughter of the earl of Somerfet and cousin of the young king. As the Scottish

E Hall, 101. 86. Stowe, p. 364. Grafton, p. 501.

regent, tired of his present dignity, which he was CHAP. not able to support, was now become entirely sincere in his applications for James's liberty; the treaty was soon concluded; a ransom of forty thousand pounds was stipulated; and the king of Scots was restored to the throne of his ancestors, and proved, in his short reign, one of the most illustrious princes that had ever governed that kingdom. He was murdered, in 1437, by his traiterous kinsman the earl of Athole. His affections inclined to the side of France; but the English had never reason, during his life-time, to complain of any breach of the neutrality by Scotland.

But the regent was not so much employed in Military these political negociations as to neglect the opera- operations. tions of war, from which alone he could hope to fucceed in expelling the French monarch. Though the chief feat of Charles's power lay in the fouthern provinces beyond the Loire; his partisans were possessed of some fortresses in the northern, and even in the neighbourhood of Paris; and it behoved the duke of Bedford first to clear these countries from the enemy, before he could think of attempting more distant conquests. The castle of Dorsoy was taken, after a siege of six weeks: That of Noyelle and the town of Rue in Picardy underwent the same fate: Pont sur Seine, Vertus, Montaigu, were subjected by the English arms: And a more considerable advantage was foon after gained by the united forces of England and Burgundy. John Stuart, constable of Scotland, and the lord of Estissac, had formed the siege of Crevant in Burgundy: The earls of Salisbury and Suffolk, with the count of Toulongeon, were sent to its relief: A sicrce and well-disputed action ensued: The Scots and French were defeated: The constable of Scotland, and the count of Ventadour, were taken prisoners: And above a thousand men, among whom was sir

f Rymer, vol. x. p. 299. 300. 326. VOL. III.

CHAP. William Hamilton, were left on the field of battle. The taking of Gaillon upon the Seine, and of la Charite upon the Loire, was the fruit of this victory: And as this latter place opened an entrance into the fouthern provinces, the acquisition of it appeared on that account of the greater importance to the duke of Bedford, and scemed to promise a successful iffue to the war.

1424.

Tite more Charles was threatened with an invafion in those provinces which adhered to him, the more necessary it became that he should retain possession of every fortress which he still held within the quarters of the enemy. The duke of Bedford had befreged in person, during the space of three months, the town of Yvri in Normandy; and the brave governor, unable to make any longer defence, was obliged to capitulate; and he agreed to furrender the town, if, before a certain term, no relief arrived. Charles, informed of these conditions, determined to make an attempt for faving the place. He collected, with some dissiculty, an army of 14,000 men, of whom one half were Scots; and he fent them thither under the command of the earl of Buchan, constable of France; who was attended by the earl of Douglas his countryman, the duke of Alençon, the mareschal de la Fayette, the count of Aumale, and the viscount of Narbonne. When the constable arrived within a few leagues of Yvri, he found that he was come too late, and that the place was already furrendered. He immediately turned to the left, and fat down before Verneüil, which the inhabitants, in spite of the garrison, delivered up to him ". Buchan might now have returned in fafety, and with the glory of making an acquisition no less important than the place which he was fent to relieve: Eut hearing of Bedford's approach, he called

^{*} Hall, for 8g. Monthrelet, vol. ii. p. 8. Hollingsbed, p. 586 Graffen, p. 504. h Monstrelet, vol. ii. p. 14. Grafton, p. 504.

a council of war, in order to deliberate concerning C H A P. the conduct which he should hold in this emergence. The wifer part of the council declared for a retreat; and represented, that all the past missortunes of the French had proceeded from their rathness in giving battle when no necessity obliged them; that this army was the last resource of the king, and the only defence of the few provinces which remained to him; and that every reason invited him to embrace cautious measures, which might leave time for his subjects to return to a sense of their duty, and give leifure for discord to arise among his enemies, who, being united by no common band of interest or motive of alliance, could not long persevere in their animofity against him. All these prudential considerations were overborne by a vain point of honour not to turn their backs to the enemy; and they resolved to await the arrival of the duke of Bedford.

THE numbers were nearly equal in this action; 27th Aug. and as the long continuance of war had introduced Battle of discipline, which however imperfect, sufficed to maintain fome appearance of order in fuch small armics the battle was fierce, and well disputed, and attended with bloodshed on both sides. The conflable drew up his forces under the walls of Verneuil, and resolved to abide the attack of the energy: But the impatience of the viscount of Narbonne, who advanced precipitately, and obliged the whole line to follow him in some hurry and consusion, was the cause of the missortune which ensued. The English archers, fixing their palifadoes before them, according to their usual custom, sent a volley of arrows amidst the thickest of the French army; and though beaten from their ground, and obliged to take thelter among the baggage, they foon railied, and continued to do great execution upon the enemy. The duke of Bedford, meanwhile, at the head of the men at arms, made impression on the French, broke

their , K 2

C H A P. their ranks, chased them off the field, and rendered the victory entirely complete and decisive. The constable himself perished in battle, as well as the earl of Douglas and his son, the counts of Aumale, Tonnerre, and Ventadour, with many other confiderable nobility. The duke of Alençon, the mareschal de la Fayette, the lords of Gauceur and Mortemar, were taken prisoners. There fell about four thousand of the French, and sixteen hundred of the English; a loss esteemed, at that time, so unusual on the side of the victors, that the duke of Bedford forbad all rejoicings for his fuccess. Verneüil was furrendered next day by capitulation k.

THE condition of the king of France now appeared very terrible, and almost desperate. He had lost the flower of his army and the bravest of his nobles in this fatal action: He had no resource either for recruiting or subsisting his troops: He wanted money even for his personal subsistence; and though all parade of a court was banished, it was with difficulty he could keep a table, supplied with the plainest necessaries, for himself and his few followers: Every day brought him intelligence of some loss or misfortune: Towns which were bravely defended were obliged at last to surrender for want of relief or supply: He saw his partisans entirely chased from all the provinces which lay north of the Loire: And he expected soon to lose, by the united efforts of his enemies, all the territories of which he had hitherto continued master; when an incident happened which faved him on the brink of ruin, and lost the English such an opportunity for completing their conquests as they never afterwards were able to recal.

JAQUELINE, countess of Hainault and Holland, and heir of these provinces, had espoused John duke

i Hall, fol. 88, 89, 90. Monstrelet, vol. ii. p. 15. Stowe, p. 365. Hollingshed, p. 588. * Monstrelet, vol. ii. p. 15.

of Brabant, cousin-german to the duke of Burgun- CHAP. dy; but having made this choice from the usual motives of princes, she soon found reason to repent of the unequal alliance. She was a princess of a masculine spirit and uncommon understanding; the duke of Brabant was of a fickly complexion and weak mind: She was in the vigour of her age; he had only reached his fifteenth year: These causes had inspired her with such contempt for her husband, which foon proceeded to antipathy, that she determined to dissolve a marriage, where, it is probable, nothing but the ceremony had as yet intervened. The court of Rome was commonly yery open to applications of this nature, when seconded by power and money; but, as the princess foresaw great opposition from her husband's relations, and was impatient to effect her purpose, she made her escape into England, and threw herself under the protection of the duke of Glocester. That prince, with many noble qualities, had the defect of being governed by an impetuous temper and vehement passions; and he was rashly induced, as well by the charms of the countess herself, as by the prospect of possessing her rich inheritance, to offer himself to her as a husband. Without waiting for a papal dispensation; without endeavouring to reconcile the duke of Burgundy to the measure, he entered into a contract of marriage with Jaqueline, and immediately attempted to put himself in possession of her Philip was disgusted with so precipitate dominions. a conduct: He resented the injury done to the duke of Brabant, his near relation: He dreaded to have the English established on all sides of him: And he foresaw the consequences which must attend the extensive and uncontrolled dominion of that nation, if, before the full settlement of their power, they infulted and injured an ally, to whom they had already been so much indebted, and who was still so necesfary for supporting them in their farther progress. He encouraged, therefore, the duke of Brabant to make K 3

CHAP make refulance: He engaged many of Jaqueline's subjects to adhere to that prince: He himself marched troops to his support: And as the duke of Glocester still persevered in his purpose, a sharp war was fuddenly kindled in the low countries. The quarrel foon became perional as well as political. The English prince wrote to the duke of Burgundy, complaining of the opposition made to his pretensions; and though, in the main, he employed amicable terms in his letter, he took notice of some falsehoods into which, he said, Philip had been betrayed during the course of these transactions. This unguarded expression was highly resented: The duke of Burgundy intifted that he should retract it: And mutual challenges and desiances passed between them on this occasion!

THE duke of Bedford could cafily foresee the bad effects of so ill-timed and imprudent a quarrel. All the fuccours which he expected from England, and which were fo necessary in this critical emergence, were intercepted by his brother, and employed in Holland and Hainault: The forces of the duke of Burgundy, which he also depended on, were diverted by the same wars: And, besides this double loss, he was in imminent danger of alienating, for ever, that confederate, whose friendship was of the utmost importance, and whom the late king had enjoined him, with his dying breath, to gratify by every mark of regard and attachment. He represented all these topics to the duke of Glocester: He endeavoured to mitigate the resentment of the duke of Burgundy: He interposed with his good offices between these princes: But was not successful in any of his endeavours; and he found that the impetuofity of his brother's temper was still the chief obstacle to all accommodation ". For this reason, instead of pushing the victory gained at Verneüil, he

m Monstrelet, p. 18. Monstrelct, vol. ii p. 19, 29, 21.

tound himself obliged to take a journey into Eng- C II A P. land, and to try, by his counfels and authority, to moderate the measures of the duke of Glocester.

THERE had likewise broken out some differences among the English ministry, which had proceeded to great extremities, and which required the regent's presence to compose them ". The bishop of Winchester, to whom the care of the king's person and education had been entrufted, was a prelate of great capacity and experience, but of an intriguing and dangerous character; and as he aspired to the government of affairs, he had continual disputes with his nephew the protector; and he gained trequent advantages over the vehement and impolitic temper of that prince. The duke of Bedford emplayed the authority of parliament to reconcile them; and these rivals were obliged to promise, before that affembly, that they would bury all quarrels in oblivion. Time also seemed to open expedients for composing the difference with the duke of Burgundy. The credit of that prince had procured a bull from the pope; by which not only Jaqueline's contract with the duke of Glocelter was annulled; but it was also declared, that even in case of the duke of Brabant's death, it should never be lawful for her to espouse the English prince. Humphrey, despairing of success, married another lady of inferior rank, who had lived some time with him as his mistress. The duke of Brabant died; and his widow, before the could recover possession of her dominions, was obliged to declare the duke of Burgundy her heir, in case she should die without issue, and to promise never to marry without his confent. But though the affair was thus terminated to the fatisfaction of Philip, it left a difagreeable

n Stowe, p. 368. Holling flied, p. 500. · Hall. fol 98, 981. Hollingshed, p. 593, 494. Polydine Virgil, p. 446. Gratton, P. 512. 519. P Stowe, p. 357.

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CHAP. impression on his mind: It excited an extreme jealousy of the English, and opened his eyes to his true interests: And as nothing but his animosity against Charles had engaged him in alliance with them, it counterbalanced that passion by another of the same kind, which, in the end, became prevalent, and brought him back, by degrees, to his natural connexions with his family and his native country.

> ABOUT the same time the duke of Britanny began to withdraw himself from the English alliance. His brother, the count of Richemont, though connected by marriage with the dukes of Burgundy and Bedford, was extremely attached by inclination to the French interest; and he willingly hearkened to all the advances which Charles made him for obtaining his friendship. The staff of constable, vacant by the earl of Buchan's death, was offered him; and, as his martial and ambitious temper afpired to the command of armies, which he had in vain attempted to obtain from the duke of Bedford, he not only accepted that office, but brought over his brother to an alliance with the French monarch. The new constable, having made this one change in his measures, firmly adhered, ever after, to his engagements with France. Though his pride and violence, which would admit of no rival in his master's confidence, and even prompted him to assassinate his other favourites, had so much disgusted Charles, that he once banished him the court, and refused to admit him to his presence, he still acted with vigour for the service of that monarch, and obtained, at last, by his perseverance, the pardon of all past offences.

In this situation the duke of Bedford, on his return, found the affairs of France, after passing eight months in England. The duke of Burgundy was much difgusted. The duke of Britanny had entered into engagements with Charles, and had

done

done homage to that prince for his dutchy. The CHAP. French had been allowed to recover from the aftonishment into which their frequent disasters had thrown them. An incident too had happened, which ferved extremely to raise their courage. The earl of Warwic had besieged Montargis with a small army of three thousand men, and the place was reduced to extremity, when the bastard of Orleans undertook to throw relief into it. This general, who was natural fon to the prince affassinated by the duke of Burgundy, and who was afterwards created count, of Dunois, conducted a body of fixteen hundred men to Montargis; and made an attack on the enemy's trenches with so much valour, prudence, and good fortune, that he not only penetrated into the place, but gave a severe blow to the English, and obliged Warwic to raise the siege 4. This was the first signal action that raised the same of Dunois, and opened him the road to those great honours which he afterwards attained.

But the regent, soon after his arrival, revived the reputation of the English arms, by an important enterprise which he happily atchieved. He secretly brought together, in separate detachments, a considerable army to the frontiers of Britanny; and fell so unexpectedly upon that province, that the duke, unable to make resistance, yielded to all the terms required of him: He renounced the French alliance; he engaged to maintain the treaty of Troye; he acknowledged the duke of Bedford for regent of France; and promised to do homage for his dutchy to king Henry'. And the English prince, having thus freed himself from a dangerous enemy who lay behind him, resolved on an undertaking which, if luccessful, would, he hoped, cast the balance between the two nations, and prepare the way for the final conquest of France.

Manstrelet, vol. ii. p. 35, 36.

Monstrelet, vol. ii. p. 32, 33. Hollingshed, p. 597.

CHAP-XX. 1428 Siege of Orleans-

THE city of Orleans was so situated between the provinces commanded by Henry, and those possessed by Charles, that it opened an easy entrance to either; and as the duke of Bedford intended to make a great effort for penetrating into the fouth of France, it behaved him to begin with this place, which, in the present circumhances, was become the most important in the kingdom. He committed the conduct of the enterprise to the earl of Salisbury, who had newly brought him a reinforcement of fix thousand men from England, and who had much distinguished himself, by his abilities, during the course of the present war. Salisbury, passing the Loire, made himself master of several small places, which surrounded Orleans on that fide "; and as his intentions were thereby known, the French king used every expedient to supply the city with a garrison and provisions, and enable it to maintain a long and obstinate fiege. The lord of Gaucour, a brave and experienced captain, was appointed governor: Many Officers of distinction threw themselves into the place: The troops which they conducted were enured to war, and were determined to make the most obstinate resistance: And even the inhabitants, disciplined by the long continuance of hostilities, were well qualified, in their own defence, to second the efforts of the most veteran forces. The eyes of all Europe were turned towards this scene; where, it was reasonably supposed, the French were to make their last stand for maintaining the independence of their monarchy and the rights of their fovereign.

THE earl of Salisbury at last approached the place with an army, which consisted only of ten thousand men; and not being able, with so small a force, to invest so great a city, that commanded a bridge over the Loire, he stationed himself on the southern side towards Sologne, leaving the other, towards the

⁻ Monstrelet, vol. ii. p. 30, 39. Polyd. Vi.g. p. 468.

Beausse, still open to the enemy. He there attacked C H A P. the fortifications which guarded the entrance to the XX. bridge; and, after an obstinate resistance, he carried several of them: But was himself killed by a cannon ball as he was taking a view of the enemy t. The earl of Suffolk fucceeded to the command; and being reinforced with great numbers of English and Burgundians, he passed the river with the main body of his army, and invested Orleans on the other side. As it was now the depth of winter, Suffolk, who found it difficult in that feafon to throw up entrenchments all ground, contented himself, for the present. with erecting redoubts at different distances, where his men were lodged in fafety, and were ready to intercept the supplies which the enemy might attempt to throw into the place. Though he had several pieces of artillery in his camp (and this is among the first fieges in Europe where cannon were found to be of importance), the art of engineering was hitherto for imperfect, that Suffolk trusted more to famine than to force for fubduing the city; and he purposed in the spring to render the circumvallation more complete, by drawing intrenchments from one redoubt to another. Numberless feats of valour were performed both by the beliegers and belieged during the winter: Bold fallies were made, and repulsed with equal boldness: Convoys were sometimes introduced and often intercepted: The supplies were still unequal to the confumption of the place: And the English seemed daily, though slowly, to be advancing towards the completion of their enterprise.

BUT while Suffolk lay in this fituation, the French parties ravaged all the country around; and the besiegers, who were obliged to draw their provisions from a diffance, were themselves exposed to the danger of want and famine. Sir John Fastolsse was bringing up a large convoy of every kind of stores,

t Hall, fol. 105. Monstrelet, vol. ii. p. 39. Stowe, p. 369. Hollingfied, p. 599. Grafton, p. 331.

1429-

C H A P. which he escorted with a detachment of two thousand five hundred men; when he was attacked by a body of four thousand French, under the command of the counts of Clermont and Dunois, Fastolffe drew up his troops behind the waggons; but the French generals, afraid of attacking him in that posture, planted a battery of cannon against him, which threw every thing into confusion, and would have insured them the victory, had not the impatience of some Scottish troops, who broke the line of battle, brought on an engagement, in which Fastolsfe was victorious. The count of Dunois was wounded; and about five hundred French were left on the field of battle. This action, which was of great importance in the present conjuncture, was commonly called the battle of Herrings; because the convoy brought a great quantity of that kind of provisions, for the use of the English army during the Lent season ".

CHARLES seemed now to have but one expedient for faving this city, which had been so long invested. The duke of Orleans, who was still prisoner in England, prevailed on the protector and the council to consent that all his demesses should be allowed to preserve a neutrality during the war, and should be sequestered, for greater security, into the hands of the duke of Burgundy. This prince, who was much less cordial in the English interests than formerly, went to Paris, and made the proposal to the duke of Bedford; but the regent coldly replied, That he was not of a humour to beat the bushes while others ran away with the game: An answer which so disgusted the duke, that he recalled all the troops of Burgundy that acted in the siege w. The place however was every day more and more closely invested by the English: Great scarcity began already

^{*} Hall, fol. 106. Monstrelet, vol. ii. p. 41, 42. Stowe, p. 369. Hollingshed, p. 600. Polyd. Virg. p. 469. Grafton, p. 532.

W Hall, fol. 106. Monstrelet, vol. ii. p. 42. Stowe, p 369. Grafton, p. 533.

to be felt by the garrison and inhabitants: Charles, CHAP. in despair of collecting an army which should dare XX. to approach the enemy's entrenchments, not only gave the city for lost, but began to entertain a very dismal prospect with regard to the general state of his affairs. He saw that the country, in which he had hitherto, with great difficulty, subsisted, would be laid entirely open to the invasion of a powerful and victorious enemy; and he already entertained thoughts of retiring with the remains of his forces into Languedoc and Dauphiny, and defending himself as long as possible in those remote provinces. But it was fortunate for this good prince, that, as he lay under the dominion of the fair, the women, whom he consulted, had the spirit to support his finking resolution in this desperate extremity. Mary of Anjou, his queen, a princess of great merit and prudence, vehemently opposed this measure, which, the foresaw, would discourage all his partisans, and ferve as a general fignal for deferting a prince who seemed himself to despair of success. His mistress too, the fair Agnes Sorel, who lived in entire amity with the queen, seconded all her remonstrances, and threatened that, if he thus pusillanimously threw away the sceptre of France, she would seek in the court of England a fortune more correspondent to her wishes. Love was able to rouse in the breast of Charles that courage which ambition had failed to excite: He resolved to dispute every inch. of ground with an imperious enemy; and rather to perish with honour in the midst of his friends, than yield ingloriously to his bad fortune: When relief was unexpectedly brought him by another female of a very different character, who gave rise to one of the most singular revolutions that is to be met with in history.

In the village of Domremi near Vaucouleurs, on The maid the borders of Lorraine, there lived a country girl of Orof twenty-seven years of age, called Joan d'Arc,

who

 $\mathbf{X}\mathbf{X}$.

CHAP. who was servant in a small inn, and who in that station had been accustomed to tend the horses of the guests, to ride them without a saddle to the watering-place, and to perform other offices, which, in well-frequented inns, commonly fall to the share of the men-fervants x. This girl was of an irreproachable life, and had not hitherto been remarked for any ungularity; whether that she had met with no occasion to excite her genius, or that the unskilful eyes of those who conversed with her, had not been able to discern her uncommon merit. It is easy to imagine, that the present situation of France was an interesting object even to persons of the lowest rank, and would become the frequent fubject of conversation: A young prince expelled his throne by the sedition of native subjects, and by the arms of strangers, could not fail to move the compassion of all his people whose hearts were uncorrupted by faction; and the peculiar character of Charles, so strongly inclined to friendship, and the tender passions, naturally rendered him the hero of that fex whose generous minds know no bounds in their affections. The fiege of Orleans, the progress of the English before that place, the great distress of the garrison and inhabitants, the importance of faving this city and its brave defenders, had turned thither the public eye; and Joan, inflamed by the general fentiment, was seized with a wild desire of bringing relief to her sovereign in his present distresses. Her unexperienced mind, working day and night on this favourite object, mistook the impulses of position for heavenly inspirations; and she fancied that she saw visions, and heard voices, exhorting her to re-cstablish the throne of France, and to expel the foreign invaders. An uncommon intrepidity of temper made her overlook all the dangers which might attend her in

^{*} Hall, sol. 107. Monstrelet, vol. ii. p. 42. Grafton, p. 534:

fuch a path; and thinking herself destined by CHAP. Heaven to this office, she threw aside all that bathfulness and timidity so natural to her sex, her vears, and her low station. She went to Vaucouleurs; procured admission to Baudricourt the governor; informed him of her inspirations and intentions; and conjured him not to neglect the wice of God, who spoke through her, but to second those heavenly revelations which impelled her to this glorious enterprise. Baudricourt treated her at first with some neglect; but on her frequent returns to him, and importunate folicitations, he began to remark femething extraordinary in the maid, and was inclined, at all hazards, to make fo eafy an experiment. It is uncertain whether this gentleman had discernment enough to perceive that great use might be made with the vulgar of fo uncommon an engine; or, what is more likely, in that credulous age, was himself a convert to this visionary: But he adopted at last the schemes of Joan; and he gave her fome attendants, who conducted her to the French court, which at that time resided at Chinon.

It is the business of history to distinguish between the miraculous and the marveillus; to reject the first in all narrations merely profane and human; to doubt the fecond; and when obliged by unquestionable testimony, as in the present case, to admit of something extraordinary, to receive as little of it as is confident with the known facts and circumstances. It is pretended, that Joan, immediately on her admission, knew the king, though she had never seen his sace before, and though he purposely kept himself in the crowd of courtiers, and had laid afide every thing in his dress and apparel which might distinguish him: That she offered him, in the name of the supreme Creator, to raise the siege of Orleans, and conduct him to Rheims to be there crowned and anointed;

CHAP. and on his expressing doubts of her mission, revealed to him, before some sworn considents, a secret, which was unknown to all the world beside himself, and which nothing but a heavenly inspiration could have discovered to her: And that she demanded, as the instrument of her future victories, a particular sword which was kept in the church of St. Catharine of Fierbois, and which, though she had never seen it, she described by all its marks, and by the place in which it had long lain neglected. This is certain, that all these miraculous stories were spread abroad, in order to captivate the vulgar. The more the king and his ministers were determined to give into the illusion, the more scruples they pretended. An assembly of grave doctors and theologians cautiously examined Joan's mission, and pronounced it undoubted and supernatural. She was sent to the parliament, then residing at Poictiers; and was interrogated before that affembly: The presidents, the counsellors, who came persuaded of her imposture, went away convinced of her inspiration. A ray of hope began to break through that despair in which the minds of all men were before enveloped. Heaven had now declared itself in favour of France, and had laid bare its outstretched arm to take vengeance on her invaders. Few could distinguish between the impulse of inclination and the force of conviction; and none would submit to the trouble of so disagreeable a scrutiny.

AFTER these artificial precautions and preparations had been for some time employed, Joan's requests were at last complied with: She was armed cap-a-pee, mounted on horseback, and shown in that martial habiliment before the whole people. Her dexterity in managing her steed, though ac-, quired in her former occupation, was regarded as

y Hall, fol. 107. Hollingshed, p. 600.

with the loudest acclamations by the spectators.

Her former occupation was even denied: She was no longer the servant of an inn: She was converted into a shepherdess, an employment much more agreeable to the imagination. To rend r her still more interesting, near ten years were substracted from her age; and all the sensitions of love and of chivalry were thus united to those of enthusiam, in order to instance the sond fancy of the people with prepossessions in her favour.

With n the engine was thus dreffed up in full splendour, it was determined to essay its force against the enemy. Joan was fent to Blois, where a large convoy was prepared for the supply of Orleans, and an army of ten thousand men, under the command of St. Severe, affembled to efcort it. She ordered all the foldiers to confeis themselves before they set out on the enterprise: She banished from the camp all women of bad fame. She displayed in her hands a confecrated banner; where the Supreme Being was reprefented grasping the globe of earth, and furrounded with flower de luces: And she insisted, in right of her prophetic million, that the convoy should enter Orleans by the direct road from the field of Beausse: But the count of Dunois, unwilling to fubmit the rules of the military art to her inspirations, ordered it to approach by the other fide of the river, where, he knew, the weakest part

Of the lenglish army was stationed.

Previous to this attempt, the maid had written to the regent, and to the English generals before Orleans, commanding them, in the name of the omnipotent Creator, by whom she was commissioned, immediately to raise the siege, and to evacuate France; and menacing them with divine vengeance in case of their disobedience. All the English affected to speak with derision of the maid, and of her heavenly commission; and said, that Vol. III.

CHAP. the French king was now indeed reduced to a XX. forry pass when he had recourse to such ridiculous

expedients: But they felt their imagination secretly 1429. struck with the vehement persuasion which prevailed in all around them; and they waited with an anxious expectation, not unmixed with horror,

for the issue of these extraordinary preparations.

the convoy approached the river, a fally was made by the garrison on the side of Beausse, to prevent the English general from send-29thApril. ing any detachment to the other fide: The provisions were peaceably embarked in boats, which the inhabitants of Orleans had fent to receive them: The maid covered with her troops the embarkation: Suffolk did not venture to attack her: And the French general carried back the army in fafety to Blois; an alteration of affairs which was already visible to all the world, and which had a proportional effect on the minds of both parties.

> THE maid entered the city of Orleans arrayed in her military garb, and displaying her confecrated standard; and was received as a celestial deliverer by all the inhabitants. They now believed themfelves invincible under her influence; and Dunois himself, perceiving such a mighty alteration both in friends and foes, consented that the next convoy, which was expected in a few days, should enter by the fide of Beausse. The convoy approached: No fign of resistance appeared in the besiegers: The waggons and troops passed without interruption between the redoubts of the English: A dead silence and astonishment reigned among those troops, formerly so elated with victory, and so sierce for the combat.

The earl of Suffolk was in a fituation very unwufual and extraordinary, and which might well confound the man of the greatest capacity and sirmest temper. He saw his troops overawed, and strongly impressed with the idea of a divine influence

4th May.

accompanying the maid. Instead of banishing these vain terrors by hurry, and action, and war, he waited till the soldiers should recover from the panic; and he thereby gave leisure for those prepossessions to sink still deeper into their minds. The military maxims which are prudent in common cases, deceived him in these unaccountable events. The English selt their courage caunted and overwhelmed; and thence inserred a divine vengeance hanging over them. The French drew the same inference from an inactivity so new and unexpected. Every circumstance was now reversed in the opinions of men, on which all depends: The spirit resulting from a long course of uninterrupted success was on a sudden transferred from the victors to the vanquished.

THE maid called aloud, that the garrison should remain no longer on the desensive; and she promised her followers the assistance of heaven in attacking those redoubts of the enemy which had so long kept them in awe, and which they had never hitherto dared to insult. The generals seconded her ardour: An attack was made on one redoubt, and it proved successful: All the English who desended the entrenchments were put to the sword, or taken prisoners: And Sir John Talbot himself, who had drawn together, from the other redoubts, some troops to bring them relief, durst not appear in the open field against so formidable an enemy.

Nothing, after this success, seemed impossible to the maid and her enthusiastic votaries. She urged the generals to attack the main body of the English in their entrenchments: But Dunois, still unwilling to hazard the fate of France by too great temerity, and sensible that the least reverse of fortune would make all the present visions eva-

² Monstrelet, vol. ii. p. 45.

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CHAF porate, and restore every thing to its former condition, checked her vehemence, and proposed to her first to expel the enemy from their forts on the other fide of the river, and thus lay the communication with the country entirely open, before she attempted any more hazardous enterprise. Joan was perfuaded, and these forts were vigorously asfailed. In one attack the French were repulsed; the maid was left almost alone; she was obliged to retreat, and join the runaways; but displaying her facred standard, and animating them with her countenance, her gestures, her exhortations, she led them back to the charge, and overpowered the English in their entrenchments. In the attack of another fort, she was wounded in the neck with an arrow; she retreated a moment behind the affailants; she pulled out the arrow with her own hands; she had the wound quickly dressed; and she hastened back to head the troops, and to plant her victorious banner on the ramparts of the enemy.

Evall these successes, the English were entirely chased from their fortifications on that side: They had lost above six thousand men in these disserent actions; and, what was still more important, their wonted courage and considence was wholly gone, and had given place to amazement and despair. The maid returned triumphant over the bridge, and was again received as the guardian angel of the city. After performing fuch miracles, she convinced the most obdurate incredulity of her divine mission: Men selt themselves animated as by a superior energy, and thought nothing impossible to that divine hand which so visibly conducted them. It was in vain even for the English generals to oppose with their soldiers the prevailing opinion of su-· pernatural influence: They themselves were probably moved by the same belief: The utmost they Jedared to advance was, that Joan was not an instru-

ment

ment of God; she was only the implement of the C II A P. Devil: But as the English had felt, to their sad XX. experience, that the Devil might be allowed fometimes to prevail, they derived not much confolation from the enforcing of this opinion.

IT might prove extremely dangerous for Suffolk, The fiege with fuch intimidated troops, to remain any longer of Orleans raised. in the prefence of fo courageous and victorious an 8th May. enemy; he therefore raifed the fiege, and retreated with all the precaution imaginable. The French refolved to push their conquests, and to allow the English no leifure to recover from their consternation. Charles formed a body of fix thousand men, and fent them to attack Jergeau, whether Suffolk had retired with a detachment of his army. The fiege lasted ten days; and the place was obstinately defended. Joan displayed her wonted intrepidity on the occasion. She descended into the fossee in leading the attack; and she there received a blow on the head with a stone, by which she was confounded and beaten to the ground: But she soon recovered herfelf; and in the end rendered the affault fuccessful: Suffolk was obliged to yield himself prisoner to a Frenchman called Renaud; but, before he submitted, he asked his adversary, whether he were a gentleman? On receiving a fatisfactory answer, he demanded, whether he were a knight? Renaud replied, that he had not yet attained that honour. Then I make you one, replied Sulfolk: Upon which he gave him the blow with his fword, which dubbed him into that fraternity.; and he immediately surrendered himself his prifoner.

THE remainder of the English army was commanded by Faltolste, Scales, and Talbot, who thought of nothing but of making their retreat, as foon as possible, into a place of safety; while the French esteemed the overtaking them equivalent to a victory. So much had the events which passed before L 3

1429.

CIIAP. before Orleans altered every thing between the two nations! The vanguard of the French, under Richemont and Xaintrailles, attacked the rear of the 18th June. enemy at the village of Patay. The battle lasted not a moment: The English were discomsited, and fled: The brave Fastolffe himself showed the example of flight to his troops; and the order of the garter was taken from him, as a punishment for this instance of cowardice b. Two thousand men were killed in this action, and both Talbot and Scales taken prisoners.

In the account of all these successes, the French writers, to magnify the wonder, represent the maid (who was now known by the appellation of the Maid of Orleans) as not only active in combat, but as performing the office of general; directing the troops, conducting the military operations, and swaying the deliberations in all councils of war. It is certain, that the policy of the French court endeavoured to maintain this appearance with the public: But it is much more probable, that Dunois and the wifer commanders prompted her in all her measures, than that a country girl, without experience or education, could, on a sudden, become expert in a profession which requires more genius and capacity than any other active scene of life. It is sufficient praise that she could distinguish the persons on whose judgment she might rely; that she could seize their hints and fuggestions, and, on a sudden, deliver their opinions

THE raising of the siege of Orleans was one part of the maid's promise to Charles: The crowning of him at Rheims was the other: And she now vehemently infifted that he should forthwith set out on

as her own; and that she could curb, on occasion,

that visionary and enthusiastic spirit with which she

was actuated, and could temper it with prudence and

discretion.

that enterprise. A few weeks before, such a proposal C HAP. would have appeared the most extravagant in the XX. Rheims lay in a distant quarter of the kingdom; was then in the hands of a victorious enemy; the whole road which led to it was occupied by their garrisons; and no man could be so sanguine as to imagine that such an attempt could so soon come within the bounds of possibility. But as it was extremely the interest of Charles to maintain the belief of fomething extraordinary and divine in these events, and to avail himself of the present consternation of the English, he resolved to follow the exhortations of his warlike prophetess, and to lead his army upon this promising adventure. Hitherto he had kept remote from the scene of war: As the safety of the state depended upon his person, he had been perfunded to restrain his military ardour: But observing this prosperous turn of affairs, he now determined to appear at the head of his armies, and to fet the example of valour to all his soldiers. And the French nobility faw at once their young fovereign assuming a new and more brilliant character, seconded by fortune and conducted by the hand of heaven; and they caught fresh zeal to exert themselves in replacing him on the throne of his ancestors.

CHARLES set out for Rheims at the head of twelve The king thousand men: He passed by Troye, which opened of France its gates to him: Chalons imitated the example: Rheims. Rheims sent him a deputation with its keys, before his approach to it: And he scarcely perceived, as he passed along, that he was marching through an enemy's country. The ceremony of his coronation was here performed with the holy oil, which a 17th July. pigeon had brought to king Clovis from heaven on the first establishment of the French monarchy: The maid of Orleans stood by his side in complete armour, and displayed her sacred banner, which had

CHAP. so often dissipated and consounded his fiercest ene" mies: And the people shouted with the most unfeigned joy on viewing fuch a complication of wonders: After the completion of the ceremony, the maid threw herfelf at the king's feet, embraced his knees, and with a flood of tears, which pleafure and tenderness extorted from her, she congratulated him on this fingular and marvellens event.

CHARLES, thus crowned and anointed, become more respectable in the eyes of all his subjects, and feemed, in a manner, to receive anew, from a heavenly commission, his title to their allegiance. The inclinations of men fwaying their believe no one doubted of the infpirations and prophetic spirit of the maid: So many incidents, which pailed all human compret enfion, lete little room to quellion a fuperior influence: And the real and undoubted tacts brought credit to every exaggeration, which and fearcely be rendered more wonderful. Laon, Soiffors, Chat an-Lakerri, Provins, and many other towns and fortresses in that neighbourhood, immediately after Charles's coronation, submitted to him on the first summons; and the whole nation was difposed to give him the most zealous testimonies of their duty and affection.

Prudence of the duke of Bed ford.

Norming can impress us with a higher idea of the wisdom, address, and resolution of the duke of Bedford, than his being able to maintain himself in so perilous a fituation, and to preserve some footing in France, after the defection of so many places, and amidst the universal inclination of the rest to imitate that contagious example. This prince feemed prefent every where by his vigilance and forefight: He . employed every resource which fortune had yet left him: He put all the English garrisons in a posture of defence: He kept a watchful eye over every attempt among the French towards an infurrection: He retained the Parifians in obedience, by alternately employing careffes and feverity: And know-

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ing that the duke of Burgundy was already waver- CHAP. ing in his fidelity, he acted with so much skill and prudence, as to renew, in this dangerous crisis, his alliance with that prince; an alliance of the utmost importance to the credit and support of the English government.

THE small supplies which he received from England let the talents of this great man in a still stronger light. The ardour of the English for foreign conquests was now extremely abated by time and reflection: The parliament feems even to have become sensible of the danger which might attend their farther progress: No supply of money could be obtained by the regent during his greatest distresses: And men enlisted slowly under his standard, or soon deferted, by reason of the wonderful accounts which had reached England, of the magic, and forcery, and diabolical power of the maid of Orleans 4. It happened fortunately, in this emergency, that the bishop of Winchester, now created a cardinal, landed at Calais with a body of five thousand men, which he was conducting into Bohemia, on a crusade against the Huffites! He was perfuaded to lend these troops to his nephew during the prefent difficulties; and the regent was thereby enabled to take the field, and to oppose the French king, who was advancing with his army to the gates of Paris.

THE extraordinary capacity of the duke of Bedford appeared also in his military operations. He attempted to restore the courage of his troops by boldly advancing to the face of the enemy; but he chose his posts with so much caution, as always to decline a combat, and to render it impossible for Charles to attack him. He still attended that prince in all his movements; covered his own towns and garrisons; and kept himself in a posture to reap advantage from every imprudence or false step of the

² Rymer, vol. x. p. 459, 472.

c Ibid. vol x. p. 421.

C HAP. enemy. The French army, which consisted mostly of volunteers, who served at their own expence, soon after retired, and was disbanded: Charles went to Bourges, the ordinary place of his residence; but not till he made himself master of Compiegne, Beauvais, Senlis, Sens, Laval, Lagni, St. Denis, and of many places in the neighbourhood of Paris, which the affections of the people had put into his hands.

THE regent endeavoured to revive the declining state of his affairs by bringing over the young king of England, and having him crowned and anointed at Paris . All the vaffals of the crown who lived within the provinces possessed by the English, swore a new allegiance, and did homage to him. But this ceremony was cold and infipid, compared with the lustre which had attended the coronation of Charles at Rheims; and the duke of Bedford expected more effect from an accident, which put into his hands the person that had been the author of all his calamities.

THE maid of Orleans, after the coronation of Charles, declared to the count of Dunois, that her wishes were now fully gratified, and that she had no farther desire than to return to her former condition and to the occupation and course of life which became her sex: But that nobleman, sensible of the great advantages, which might still be reaped from her presence in the army, exhorted her to persevere, till, by the final expulsion of the English, she had brought all her prophecies to their full completion. In pursuance of this advice, she threw herself into the town of Compiegne, which was at that time besieged by the duke of Burgundy, assisted by the earls of Arundel and Suffolk; and the garrison, on her appearance, believed themselves thenceforth invincible. But their joy was of short duration. 24th May. maid, next day after her arrival, headed a fally upon

the quarters of John of Luxembourg; she twice CHAP. drove the enemy from their entrenchments; finding XX. their numbers to increase every moment, she ordered a retreat; when hard pressed by the pursuers, she turned upon them, and made them again recoil; but being here deserted by her friends, and furrounded by the enemy, she was at last, after exciting the utmost valour, taken prisoner by the Burgundians?. The common opinion was, that the French officers, finding the merit of every victory ascribed to her, had, in envy to her renown, by which they themselves were so much eclipsed, willingly exposed her to this fatal accident.

THE envy of her friends, on this occasion, was not a greater proof of her merit than the triumph of her enemies. A complete victory would not have given more joy to the English and their partisans. The fervice of Te Deum, which has so often been profaned by princes, was publicly celebrated, on this fortunate event, at Paris. The duke of Bedford fancied, that, by the captivity of that extraordinary woman, who had blafted all his fuccesses, he should again recover his former ascendant over France; and, to push farther the present advantage, he purchased the captive from John of Luxembourg, and formed a profecution against her, which, whether it proceeded from vengeance or policy, was equally barbarous and dishonourable.

THERE was no possible reason, why Joan should not be regarded as a prisoner of war, and be entitled to all the courtefy and good usage, which civilized nations practise towards enemies on these occasions. She had never, in her military capacity, forfeited. by any act of treachery or cruelty, her claim to that treatment: She was unstained by any civil crime: Even the virtues and the very decorums of her fex had ever been rigidly observed by her: And though

1431.

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CHAP. her appearing in war, and leading armies to battle, may feem an exception, she had thereby performed fuch fignal fervice to her prince, that she had abundantly compensated for this irregularity; and was, on that very account, the more an object of praise and admiration. It was necessary, therefore, for the duke of Bedford to interest religion some way in the profecution; and to cover, under that cloak, his violation of jullice and humanity.

THE bishop of Beauvais, a man wholly devoted to the English Interests, presented a petition against Joan, on pretence that she was taken within the bounds of his diocese; and he desired to have her tried by an ecclefiattical court for forcery, impicty, idolatry, and magic: The university of Paris vas fo mean as to join in the same request: Several prelates, among whom the card all of Winchester was the only Englishman, were appointed her judges: They held their court in Rouen, where the young king of England then refided: And the maid, cloubled in her former military apparel, but loaded with irons, was produced before this tribunal.

Suz first desired to be eased of her chains: Her judges answered, that she had once already attempted an escape, by throwing herself from a tower: She confessed the fact, maintained the justice of her intention, and owned that, if she could, she would still execute that purpose. All her other speeches. shewed the same sirmness and intrepidity: Though harassed with interrogatories during the course of near four months, the never betrayed any weakness or womanish submission; and no advantage was gained over her. The point, which her judges pushed most vehemently, was her visions and revelations, and intercourse with departed saints; and they asked her, whether she would submit to the church the truth of these inspirations: She replied, that she would submit them to God, the fountain of truth. They then exclaimed, that she was a here-

tic, and denied the authority of the church. She ap- C II A P.

pealed to the pope: They rejected her appeal.

THEY asked her, why she put trust in her standard, which had been confecrated by magical incantations: She replied, that she put trust in the Supreme Being alone, whose image was impressed upon it. They demanded, why she carried in her hand that standard at the anointment and coronation of Charles at Rheims: She answered, that the person who had shared the danger, was entitled to thare the glory. When accused of going to war, contrary to the decorums of her fex, and of affuming government and command over men; the ferupled not to reply, that her fole purpose was to defeat the English, and to expel them the Kingdom. In the iffue, she was condemned for all the crimes of which she had been accused, aggravated by herefy; her revelations were declared to be inventions of the devil to delude the people; and she was fentenced to be delivered over to the fecular arm.

JOAN, fo long furrounded by inveterate enemies, who treated her with every mark of contumely; brow-beatch and overawed by men of superior rank, and men invested with the ensigns of a sacred character, which she had been accustomed to revere, felt her spirit at last subdued; and those visionary dreams of inspiration, in which she had been buoyed up by the triumphs of fuccess and the applauses of her own party, gave way to the terrors of that punishment to which she was sentenced. She publickly declared herself willing to recant; she acknowledged the illusion of those revelations which the church had rejected; and she promised never more to maintain them. Her sentence was then mitigated: She was condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and to be fed during life on bread and water.

ENOUGH was now done to fulfil all political views, and to convince both the French and the English, that the opinion of divine influence, which had so

CHAP. much encouraged the one and daunted the other, XX.

was entirely without foundation. But the barbarous vengeance of Joan's enemies was not fatisfied with 1431. this victory. Suspecting, that the female dress,

which she had now consented to wear, was disagreeable to her, they purposely placed in her apartment a fuit of men's apparel; and watched for the effects of that temptation upon her. On the fight of a dress in which she had acquired so much renown, and which, she once believed, she wore by the particular appointment of heaven, all her former ideas

and passions revived; and she ventured in her soli-

tude to clothe herfelf again in the forbidden gar-

ment. Her insidious enemies caught her in that

situation: Her fault was interpreted to be no less

than a relapse into herefy: No recantation would

now fuffice, and no pardon could be granted her.

Execution of the Maid of

Orleans,

3432.

She was condemned to be burned in the marketplace of Rouen; and the infamous sentence was accordingly executed. This admirable heroine, to whom the more generous superstition of the ancients would have erected altars, was, on pretence of herefy and magic, delivered over alive to the flames, 24th June. and expiated, by that dreadful punishment, the fig-

to her native country.

THE affairs of the English, far from being advanced by this execution, went every day more and more to decay: The great abilities of the regent were unable to resist the strong inclination, which had seized the French, to return under the obcdience of their rightful fovereign, and which that act of cruelty was ill fitted to remove. Chartres was furprised by a stratagem of the count of Dunois: A body of the English, under lord Willoughby, was defeated at St. Celerin upon the Sarte b: The fair in the suburbs of Caën, seated in the midst of the

nal fervices which she had rendered to her prince and

Monstrelet, vol. ii. p. 100.

English territories, was pillaged by de Lore, a CHAP. French officer: The duke of Bedford himself was XX. obliged by Dunois to raise the siege of Lagni, with some loss of reputation: And all these misfortunes, though light, yet being continued and uninterrupted, brought discredit on the English, and menaced them with an approaching revolution. But the chief detriment which the regent fustained, was by the death of his duchefs, who had hitherto preserved some appearance of friendship between him and her brother, the duke of Burgundy i: And his marriage foon afterwards, with Jaqueline of Luxembourg, was the beginning of a breach between them k. Philip complained, that the regent had never had the civility to inform him of his intentions, and that so sudden a marriage was a slight on his sister's memory. The cardinal of Winchester mediated a reconciliation between these princes, and brought both of them to St. Omer's for that purpose. The duke of Bedford here expected the first visit, both as he was fon, brother, and uncle to a king, and because he had already made fuch advances as to come into the duke of Burgundy's territories, in order to have an interview with him: But Philip, proud of his great power and independent dominions, refused to pay this compliment to the regent: And the two princes, unable to adjust the ceremonial, parted without feeing each other!. A bad prognostic of their cordial intentions to renew past amity!

Nothing could be more repugnant to the in- Defeation terests of the house of Burgundy, than to unite the of the duke crowns of France and England on the same head; an event which, had it taken place, would have reduced the duke to the rank of a petty prince, and have rendered his fituation entirely dependant and precarious. The title also to the crown of France,

Burgundy.

Monstrelet, vol. ii. p. 90. Grafton, p. 561.

Monstrelet, vol. ii p. 87. k Stowe, p. 373. Grafton. p. 554.

C II A P. which, after the failure of the elder branches, might accrue to the duke or his posterity, had been facrificed by the treaty of Troyc; and strangers and enemies where thereby irrevocably fixed upon the throne. Revenge alone had carried Philip into these impolitic measures; and a point of honour had hitherto induced him to maintain them. But as it is the nature of passion gradually to decay, while the sense of interest maintains a permanent influence and authority; the duke had, for some years, appeared sensibly to relent in his animotity against Charles, and to hearken willingly to the apologies made by that prince for the murder of the late duke of Burgundy. His extreme youth was pleaded in his favour; his incapacity to judge for himself; the ascendant gained over him by his ministers; and his inability to refent a deed, which, without his knowledge, had been perpetrated by those under whose guidance he was then placed. The more to flatter the pride of Philip, the king of France had banished from his court and presence Tanegui de Chatel, and all those who were concerned in that affassination; and had offered to make every other atonement which could be required of him. The distress which Charles had already suffered, had tended to gratify the duke's revenge; the miseries, to which France had been so long exposed, had begun to move his compassion; and the cries of all Europe admonished him, that his refentment, which might hitherto be deemed pious, would, if carried farther, be univerfally condemned as barbarous and unrelenting. While the duke was in this disposition, every disgust which he received from England, made a double impression upon him; the entreaties of the count of Richemont and the duke of Bourbon, who had married his two fifters, had weight; and he finally determined to unite himself to the royal family of France, from which his own was descended. For this purpose, a congress was appointed at Arras un-

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der the mediation of deputies from the pope and the CHAP. council of Basse: The duke of Burgundy came thither in person: The duke of Bourbon, the count of Richemont, and other persons of high rank, appeared as ambassadors from France: And the English having also been invited to attend, the cardinal of Winchester, the bishops of Norwich and St. David's, the earls of Huntingdon and Suffolk, with others, received from the protector and council a commission for that purpose m.

The conferences were held in the abbey of August. St. Vaast; and began with discussing the proposals of the two crowns, which were so wide of each other as to admit of no hopes of accommodation. France offered to cede Normandy with Guienne, but both of them loaded with the usual homagrand vastatage to the crown. As the claims of England upon France were univerfally unpopular in Europe, the mediators declared the offers of Charles very reasonable; and the cardinal of Winchester, with the other English ambassadors, without giving a particular detail of their demands, immediately left the congress. There remained nothing but to discuss the mutual pretensions of Charles and Philip. These were eafily adjusted: The vassal was in a situation to give law to his superior; and he exacted conditions, which, had it not been for the present necessity, would have been deemed, to the last degree, dishonourable and disadvantageous to the crown of France. Besides making repeated atonements and acknowledgments for the murder of the duke of Burgundy, Charles was obliged to cede all the towns of Picardy which lay between the Somme and the Low Countries; he yielded several other territories; he agreed, that these and all the other dominions of Philip should be held by him, during his life, without doing any homage, or fwearing fealty to the preXX. 1435.

CHAP. sent king; and he freed his subjects from all obligations to allegiance, if ever he infringed this treaty n. Such were the conditions upon which France purchased the friendship of the duke of

Burgundy.

THE duke fent a herald to England with a letter, in which he notified the conclusion of the treaty of Arras, and apologised for his departure from that of Troye. The council received the herald with great coldness: They even assigned him his lodgings in a shoemaker's house, by way of insult; and the populace were so incensed, that, if the duke of Glocester had not given him guards, his life had been exposed to danger, when he appeared in the streets. The Flemings, and other subjects of Philip, were infulted, and some of them murdered by the Londoners; and every thing feemed to tend towards a rupture between the two nations ". These violences were not disagreeable to the duke of Burgundy; as they afforded him a pretence for the farther measures which he intended to take against the English, whom he now regarded as implacable and dangerous enemies.

rath Sept. Death of the duke of Bed tord.

A FEW days after the duke of Bedford received intelligence of this treaty, so fatal to the interests of England, he died at Rouen; a prince of great abilities, and of many virtues; and whose memory, except from the barbarous execution of the Maid of Orleans, was unfullied by any confiderable blemish. Isabella, queen of France, died a little before him, despised by the English, detested by the French, and reduced in her later years to regard, with an unnatural horror, the progress and successes of her own fon, in recovering possession of his kingdom. This period was also signalized by the death of the earl of Arundel P, a great English general, who,

though

Monstrelet, vol. ii. p. 112. Grafton, p. 565. • Monftrelet, vol. ii. p. 120. Hollingshed, p. 612. P Monstrelet, vol. ii. p. 105. Hollingshed, p. 610.

though he commanded three thousand men, was CHAP. soiled by Xaintrailles at the head of six hundred, and soon after expired of the wounds which he received in the action.

1436.

THE violent factions, which prevailed between the duke of Glocester and the cardinal of Winchester, prevented the English from taking the proper measures for repairing these multiplied losses, and threw all their affairs into confusion. The popularity of the duke, and his near relation to the crown, gave him advantages in the contest, which he often lost by his open and unguarded temper, unfit to struggle with the politic and interested spirit of his rival. The balance, meanwhile, of these parties kept every thing in suspense: Foreign assairs were much neglected: And though the duke of York, fon to that carl of Cambridge who was executed in the beginning of the last reign, was appointed successor to the duke of Bedford, it was seven months before his commission passed the seals; and the English remained so long in an enemy's country without a proper head or governor.

THE new governor, on his arrival, found the ca- Decline of pital already lost. The Parisians had always been in France. more attached to the Burgundian than to the English interest; and after the conclusion of the treaty of Arras, their affections, without any farther control, univerfally led them to return to their allegiance under their native sovereign. The constable, together with Lile-Adam, the same person who had before put Paris into the hands of the duke of Burgundy, was introduced in the night-time by intelligence with the citizens: Lord Willoughby, who commanded only a small garrison of 1500 men, was expelled: This nobleman discovered valour and prefence of mind on the occasion; but unable to guard so large a place against such multitudes, he retired into the Bastile, and being there invested, he delivered up that fortress, and was contented to slipu-

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late

CHAP. late for the safe retreat of his troops into Nor-

1436.

In the same season the duke of Burgundy openly took part against England, and commenced hoftilities by the siege of Calais, the only place which now gave the Englith any fure hold of France, and still rendered them dangerous. As he was beloved among his own subjects, and had acquired the epithet of Good, from his popular qualities, he was able to interest all the inhabitants of the Low Countries in the fuccess of this enterprise; and he invested that place with an army, formidable from its numbers, but without experience, discipline, or military spirit. On the sirst alarm of this siege, the duke of Glocester assembled some forces, sent a desiance to Philip, and challenged him to wait the event of a battle, which he promised to give, as soon as the wind would permit him to reach Calais. The warlike genius of the English had at that time rendered them terrible to all the northern parts of Europe; especially to the Flemings, who were more expert in manufactures than in arms; and the duke of Burgundy, being already foiled in some attempts before Calais, and observing the discontent and terror of his own army, thought proper to raife the siege, and to retreat before the arrival of the enemy s.

zőth Jui e.

THE English were still masters of many sine provinces in France; but retained possession, more by the extreme weakness of Charles, than by the strength of their own garrisons, or the force of their armies. Nothing indeed can be more surprising than the feeble efforts made, during the course of several years, by these two potent nations against each other; while the one struggled for independence, and the other aspired to a total conquest of its

Monstrelet, vol. ii. p. 127. Graston, p. 568.

firelet, vol. ii. p. 126. 130 132. Hollingshed, p. 613. Graston, p. 571.

Monstrelet, vol. ii. p. 136. Hollingshed, p. 614.

rival. The general want of industry, commerce, CHAP. and police, in that age, had rendered all the European nations, and France and England no less than the others, unfit for bearing the burthens of war, when it was prolonged beyond one feason; and the continuance of hostilities had, long ere this time, exhausted the force and patience of both kingdoms. Scarcely could the appearance of an army be brought into the field on either fide; and all the operations confifted in the furprifal of places, in the rencounter of detached parties, and in incursions upon the open country; which were performed by fmall bodies, affembled on a fudden from the neighbouring garrilons. In this method of conducting the war, the French king had much the advantage: The affections of the people were entirely on his ade: Intelligence was early brought him of the flate and motions of the energy: The inhabitants were ready to join in any attempts againfi the garrifons: And thus ground was continually, though flowly, gained upon the English. The duke of York, who was a prince of abilities, struggled against these difsmulties during the course of five years; and being ashited by the valour of lord Talbor, foon after created earl of Shrewsbury, he performed actions which acquired him honour, but merit not the attention of posterity. It would have been well, had this feeble war, in sparing the blood of the people, prevented likewise all other oppressions; and had the fury of men, which reason and justice cannot restrain, thus happily received a check from their impotence and inability. But the French and English, though they exerted such small force, were, however, stretching beyond their resources, which were still smaller; and the troops, destitute of pay, were obliged to subfift by plundering and oppressing the country, both of friends and enemies. The fields in all the north of France, which was

XX. 1436.

XX. 1440.

CHAP. was the feat of war, were laid waste and left uncultivated. The cities were gradually depopulated, not by the blood spilt in battle, but by the more destructive pillage of the garrisons u: And both parties, weary of hostilities which decided nothing, feemed at last desirous of peace, and they fet on foot negociations for that purpose. But the proposals of France, and the demands of England, were still so wide of each other, that all hope of accommodation immediately vanished. The English ambassadors demanded restitution of all the provinces which had once been annexed to England, together with the final cession of Calais and its district; and required the possession of these extensive territories without the burthen of any fealty or homage on the part of their prince: The French offered only part of Guienne, part of Normandy, and Calais, loaded with the ufual burdens. It appeared in vain to continue the negociation, while there was so little prospect of agreement. The English were still too haughty to stoop from the vast hopes which they had formerly entertained, and to accept of terms more fuitable to the prefent condition of the two kingdoms.

> THE duke of York foon after refigned his government to the earl of Warwic, a nobleman of reputation, whom death prevented from long enjoying this dignity. The duke, upon the demise of that nobleman, returned to his charge, and during his administration, a truce was concluded between the king of England and the duke of Burgundy, which had become necessary for the commercial interests of

their

Grafton, p. 562.

[&]quot; Fortescue, who soon after this period visited France in the train of pince Henry, speaks of that kingdom, as a desert in comparison of Ingland. See his treatife de laudibus Anglia. Though we make allowance for the partialities of Fortescue, there must have been some foundation for his account; and these destructive wars are the most likely reason to be assigned for the difference remarked by this author.

their subjects *. The war with France continued in C H A P. the same languid and feeble state as before.

1440.

THE captivity of five princes of the blood, taken prisoners in the battle of Azincour, was a considerable advantage which England long enjoyed over its enemy; but this superiority was now entirely Some of these princes had died; some had been ranfomed; and the duke of Orleans, the most powerful among them, was the last that remained in the hands of the English. He offered the sum of 54,000 nobles, for his liberty; and when this proposal was laid before the council of England, as every question was there an object of faction, the party of the duke of Glocester, and that of the cardinal of Winchester, were divided in their sentiments with regard to it. The duke reminded the council of the dying advice of the late king, that none of these prisoners should on any account be releafed, till his fon should be of sufficient age to hold, himself, the reins of government. The cardinal intiffed on the greatness of the sum offered, which, in reality, was near equal to two-thirds of all the extraordinary supplies that the parliament, during the course of seven years, granted for the support of the war. And he added, that the release of this prince was more likely to be advantageous than prejudicial to the English interests; by silling the court of France with faction, and giving a head to those numerous malcontents whom Charles was at present able, with great difficulty, to restrain. The cardinal's party, as usual, prevailed: The duke of Orleans was released, after a melancholy captivity of twenty-five years ': And the duke of Burgundy,

Y Rymer, vol. x. p. 764. 776. 782. 795, 766 This sum was equal to 36,000 pounds sterling of our present money. A subsidy of a tenth and sifteenth was fixed by Edward III. at 29,000 pounds, which, in the reign of Henry VI. made only 58,000 pounds of our present money. The parliament granted only one subsidy during the course of seven years, from 1437 to 1444.

Z Grafton, p. 578.

CHAP

as a pledge of his entire reconciliation with the femily of Orleans, facilitated to that prince the payment of his ranfom. It must be confused, that the princes and nobility, in those ages, went to war on very disadvantageous terms. If they were taken prisoners, they either remained in captivity during life, or purchased their liberty at the price which the victors were pleased to impose, and which often reduced their families to want and beggary.

14- j.

THE fentiments of the cardinal, some time after, prevailed in another point of flill greater moment. That prelate had always encouraged every propofal of accommodation with France; and had represented the utter impossibility, in the present circumflances, of pushing farther the conquests in that kingdom, and the great difficulty of even maintaining those that were already made. He insisted on the extreme reluctance of the parliament to grant fupplies; the diforders in which the English affairs in Normandy were involved; the daily progress made by the French king; and the advantage of flopping his hand by a temporary accommodation, which might leave room for time and accidents to operate in favour of the English. The duke of Glocester, high-spirited and haughty, and educated in the lofty pretentions which the first successes of his two brothers had rendered familiar to him, could not yet be induced to relinquish all hopes of prevailing over France; much less could he see, with patience, his own opinion thwarted and rejected by the influence of his rival in the English council. But, notwithstanding his opposition, the earl of Suffolk, a nobleman who adhered to the cardinal's party, was dispatched to Tours, in order to nego-23th May. ciate with the French ministers. It was found impossible to adjust the terms of a lasting peace; but a truce for twenty-two months was concluded, which left every thing on the present sooting between the parties. The numerous disorders under which

Truce r ith I cance. which the French government laboured, and which C H A P. time alone could remedy, induced Charles to affent to this truce; and the same motives engaged him afterwards to prolong it ". But Suffolk, not conten with executing this object of his commission, proceeded also to finish another business; which feems rather to have beem implied than expressed in the powers that had been granted him b.

XX. 1443.

In proportion as Henry advanced in years, his character became fully known in the court, and was no longer ambiguous to either faction. Of the most harmless, inosfensive, simple manners; but of the most slender capacity; he was sitted, both by the foitness of his temper, and the weakness of his understanding, to be perpetually governed by those who furrounded him; and it was easy to foresee that his reign would prove a perpetual minority. As he had now reached the twenty-third year of his age, it was natural to think of choosing him a queen; and each party was ambitious of having him receive one from their hand; as it was probable that this circumstance would decide, for ever, the victory between them. The duke of Gloccher proposed a daughter of the count of Arme; nac; but had not credit to effect his purpole. The cardinal and his friends had call their eye on Margaret of Aujou, daughter of Regnier, titular king of Sicily, Euples, and Jerufalem, deicenaed from the count of Anjou, brother of Charles V. who had left thefe magnificent titles, but without any real power or pofsellions, to his posterity. This princers herself was the more accomplished of her age both in body and mind; and feemed to possels those qualities which would equally qualify her to acquire the afcendant over Henry, and to supply all his defects and weaknesses. Of a masculine, courageous spirit, of an enterprising temper, endowed

² Rymer, vol. xi. p. 101 103, 206, 214.

[▶] Ibid, p. ₹3.

XX. 1443.

CHAP. with solidity as well as vivacity of understanding, she had not been able to conceal these great talents even in the privacy of her father's family; and it was reasonable to expect, that when she should mount the throne, they would break out with still superior lustre. The earl of Suffolk, therefore, in concert with his affociates of the English council, made proposals of marriage to Margaret, which were accepted. But this nobleman, besides preoccupying the princess's favour, by being the chief means of her advancement, endeavoured to ingratiate himfelf with her and her family, by very extraordinary concessions: Though Margaret brought no dowry with her, he ventured, of himself, without any direct authority from the council, but probably with the approbation of the cardinal and the ruling members, to engage, by a fecret article, that the province of Maine, which was at that time in the hands of the English, should be ceded to Charles of Anjou, her uncle ', who was prime minister and favourite of the French king, and who had already received from his matter the grant of that province as his appanage.

Marriage of the king Will strong garet of Alijohi

> THE treaty of marriage was ratified in England: Suffolk obtained first the title of marquis, then that of duke; and even received the thanks of parliament for his services in concluding it d. The princess fell immediately into close connexions with the cardinal and his party, the dukes of Somerset, Suffolk, and Buckingham'; who, fortified by her powerful patronage, resolved on the final ruin of the duke of Glocester.

1447.

This generous prince, worsted in all court intrigues, for which his temper was not fuited; but possessing, in a high degree, the favour of the public, had already received from his rivals a cruel mortifi-

c Grafton, p. 590.

d Cotton, p. 630.

1447-

cation, which he had hitherto borne without violating CHAP. public peace, but which it was impossible that a perof his spirit and humanity could ever forgive. His duchess, the daughter of Reginald, lord Cobham, had been accused of the crime of witchcraft, and it was pretended that there was found in her possession a waxen figure of the king, which she and her affociates, sir Roger Bolingbroke a priest, and one Margery Jordan of Eye, melted in a magical manner before a flow fire, with an intention of making Henry's force and vigour waste away by like insensible degrees. The accusation was well calculated to affect the weak and credulous mind of the king, and to gain belief in an ignorant age; and the duchess was brought to trial with her confederates. The nature of this crime, so opposite to all common sense, seems always to exempt the accufers from observing the rules of common sense in their evidence: The prisoners were pronounced guilty; the duchefs was condemned to do public penance, and to fuller perpetual imprisonment; the others were executed . But, as these violent proceedings were ascribed solely to the malice of the duke's enemies, the people, contrary to their usual practice in fuch marvellous trials, acquitted the unhappy fufferers; and encreased their esteem and affection towards a prince, who was thus exposed, without protection to those mortal injuries.

THESE lentiments of the public made the cardinal of Winchester and his party sensible that it was necessary to destroy a man whose popularity might become dangerous, and whose resentment they had so much cause to apprehend. In order to essect their purpose, a parliament was summoned to meet, not at London, which was supposed to be too well

f Stowe, p. 381. Hollingshed, p. 622. Grafton, p. 587.

XX. 1417-28th Feb. Murde: of the dake of Glocefter.

CHAP. affected to the duke, but at St. Edmondsbury, where they expected that he would lie entirely at their mercy. As foon as he appeared, he was accused of treason, and thrown into prison. He was soon after found dead in his bed "; and though it was pretended that his death was natural, and though his body, which was exposed to public view, bore no marks of outward violence, no one doubted but he had fallen a victim to the vengeance of his enemies. An artifice, formerly practifed in the case of Edward II. Richard II. and Thomas of Woodstock, duke of Glocester, could deceive nobody. The reason of this affaifination of the duke seems not, that the ruling party apprehended his acquittal in parliament on account of his innocence, which, in fuch times, was feldom much regarded; but that they imagined his public trial and execution would have been more invidious than his private murder, which they pretended to deny. Some gentlemen of his retinue were afterwards tried as accomplices in his treatons, and were condemned to be hanged, drawn, and quartered. They were langed and cut down; but just as the executioner was proceeding to quarter them, their pardon was produced, and they were recovered to life h. The most burbarous kind of mercy that can possibly be imagined!

Tims prince is said to nave received a better education than was usual in his age, to have founded one of the first public libraries in England, and to have been a great patron of learned men. Among other advantages which he reaped from this turn of mind, it tended much to cure him of credulity; of which the following instance is given by fir Thomas More. There was a man who pretended, that, though he was born blind, he had recovered his fight

E Grafton, p. 597.

h Fubian Chron, anno 1447.

XX.

1447.

by touching the shrine of St. Albans. The duke, CHAP. happening foon after to pass that way, questioned the man, and, seeming to doubt of his fight, asked him the colours of feveral cloaks, worn by persons of his retinue. The man told them very readily. are a knave, cried the prince; had you been born blind, you could not so soon have learned to distinguish colours: And immediately ordered him to be let in the flocks as an impostor i.

THE cardinal of Winchester died six weeks after his nephew, whose murder was universally ascribed to him as well as to the duke of Suffolk, and which, it is faid, gave him more remorfe in his laft moments, than could naturally be expected from a man hardended, during the course of a long life, in falsehood and in politics. What share the queen had in this guilt, is uncertain; her usual activity and spirir made the public conclude, with some reason, that the duke's enemies durst not have ventured on such a deed without her privity. But there happened, foon after, an event of which she and her favourite, the duke of Sutfolk, bore incontestibly the whole odium.

THAT article of the marriage treaty, by which the province of Maine was to be ceded to Charles of Anjou, the queen's uncle, had probably been hitherto kept fecret; and, during the lifetime of the duke of Gloceffer, it might have been dangerous to venture on the execution of it. But, as the court of France strenuously infilled on performance, orders were now dispatched, under Henry's hand, to Sir Francis Surienne, governor of Mans, commanding him to furrender that place to Charles of Anjou. Surienne, either questioning the authenticity of the order, or regarding his government as his iele fortune, refused compliance; and it became necessary

XX. 1447.

CHAP. for a French army, under the count of Dunois, to lay fiege to the city. The governor made as good a defence as his situation could permit; but, receiving no relief from Edmund duke of Somerset, who was at that time governor of Normandy, he was at last obliged to capitulate, and to surrender not only Mans, but all the other fortresses of that province, which was thus entirely alienated from the crown of England.

1448.

THE bad effects of this measure stopped not here. Surienne, at the head of all his garrisons, amounting to two thousand five hundred men, retired into Normandy, in expectation of being taken into pay, and of being quartered in some towns of that province. But Somerset, who had no means of subsisting such a multitude, and who was probably incenfed at Surienne's disobedience, refused to admit him; and this adventurer, not daring to commit depredations on the territories either of the king of France or of England, marched into Britanny, seized the town of Fougeres, repaired the fortifications of Pontorson and St. James de Beuvron, and subsisted his troops by the ravages which he exercised on that whole province k. The duke of Britanny complained of this violence to the king of France, his liege lord: Charles remonstrated with the duke of Somerset: That nobleman replied, that the injury was done without his privity, and that he had no authority over Surienne and his companions 1. Though this anfwer ought to have appeared satisfactory to Charles, who had often felt severely the licentions, independent spirit of such mercenary soldiers, he never would admit of the apology. He still insisted that these plunderers should be recalled, and that reparation

^{*} Monstrelet, vol. iii. p. 6.

¹ Monstrelet, vol. iii. p. 7. Hollingshed, p. 629.

should be made to the duke of Britanny for all the C H AP. damages which he had fustained: And, in order to render an accommodation absolutely impracticable, he made the estimation of damages amount to no less a sum than 1,600 000 crowns. He was sensible of the superiority which the present state of his affairs gave him over England; and he determined to take advantage of it.

No fooner was the truce concluded between the State of two kingdoms, than Charles employed himfelf, France. with great industry and judgment, in repairing those numberless ills to which France, from the continuance of wars both foreign and domestic, had so long been exposed. He restored the course of public justice; he introduced order into the sinances; he established discipline in his troops; he repressed faction in his court; he revived the languid state of agriculture and the arts; and, in the course of a few years, he rendered his kingdom flourishing within itself, and formidable to its neighbours. Meanwhile, affairs in England had taken a very different turn. The court was divided into parties, which were enraged against each other: The people were discontented with the government. Conquests in France, which were an object more of glory than of interest, were overlooked amidst domestic incidents, which engrossed the attention of all men: The governor of Normandy, ill supplied with money, was obliged to diffnifs the greater part of his troops, and to allow the fortilications of the towns and castles to become ruinous: And the nobility and people of that province had, during the late open communication with France, enjoyed frequent opportunities of renewing connexions with their ancient master, and of concerting the means for expelling the English. The occasion, therefore, seemed favourable to Charles for breaking the truce. Normandy was at once invaded by four powerful armies;

XX. 1449 Renew al of the war with France.

CHAP. one commanded by the king himself; a second by the duke of Britanny; a third by the duke of Alençon; and a fourth by the count of Dunois. The places opened their gates almost as soon as the French appeared before them: Verneüil, Nogent, Chateau Gaillard, Ponteau de Mer, Gisors, Mante, Vernon, Argentan, Lisieux, Fecamp, Coutances, Belesme, Pont de l'Arche, fell in an instant into the hands of the enemy. The duke of Somerset, so far from having an army which could take the field, and relieve these places, was not able to supply them with the necessary garrisons and provisions. He retired, with the few troops of which he was master, into Rouen; and thought it sufficient, if, till the arrival of fuccours from England, he could fave that capital from the general fate of the province. The king of France, at the head of a formidable army, fifty thousand strong, presented himself before the gates: The dangerous example of revolt had infected the inhabitants; and they called aloud for a capitulation. Somerset, unable to resist, at once, both the enemies within and from without, retired with his garrison into the palace and castle, which, being places not tenable, he was obliged to furrender: He purchased a retreat to Harsseur by the payment of 56,000 crowns, by engaging to furrender Arques, Tancarville, Caudebec, Honsleur, and other places in the higher Normandy, and by delivering hostages for the performance of articles ". The governor of Honfleur refused to obey his orders; upon which the earl of Shrewsbury, who was one of the hostages, was detained prisoner; and the English were thus deprived of the only general capable of recovering them from their present distressed situation. Harsleur made a better desence under fir Thomas Curson the governor; but was

4th Nov.

XX.

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finally obliged to open its gates to Dunois. Suc- CHAP. cours at last appeared from England under sir Thomas Kyriel, and landed at Cherbourgh: But these came very late, amounted only to 4000 men, and were soon after put to rout at Fourmigni by the count of Clermont ". This battle, or rather skirmish, was the only action fought by the English for the defence of their dominions in France, which they had purchased at such an expence of blood and treasure. Somerset, shut up in Caën without any prospect of relief, found it necessary to capirelate: Falaise opened its gates, on condition that the earl of Shrewibury should be restored to liberty: And Cherbourgh, the last place of Normandy which remained in the hands of the English, being delivered up, the conquest of that important province was finished in a twelvemonth by Charles, to the great joy of the inhabitants and of his whole kingdom .

A like rapid success attended the French arms in Guienne; though the inhabitants of that province were, from long custom, better inclined to the English government. Dunois was dispatched thither, and met with no resistance in the sield, and very little from the towns. Great improvements The Enghad been made, during this age, in the structure ed France. and management of artillery, and none in fortification; and the art of defence was by that means more unequal, than either before or fince, to the art of attack. After all the small places about Bourdeaux were reduced, that city agreed to fubmit, if not relieved by a certain time; and as no one in England thought seriously of these distant concerns, no relief appeared; the place furrendered; and Bayonne being taken soon after, this whole province, which had remained united to

n Hollingstied, p. 631.

[·] Grafton, p. 646.

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

C H A P XX. England since the accession of Henry II. was, after a period of three centuries, finally swallowed up in the French monarchy.

THOUGH no peace or truce was concluded between France and England, the war was, in a manner, at an end. The English, torn in pieces by the civil dissensions which ensued, made but one seeble effort more for the recovery of Guienne: And Charles, occupied at home in regulating the government, and fencing against the intrigues of his factious son, Lewis the Dauphin, scarcely ever attempted to invade them in their island, or to retaliate upon them, by availing himself of their intestine consustant.

CHAP. XXI.

HENRY VI.

Claim of the duke of York to the crown—The earl of Warwic—Impeachment of the duke of Suffoik — His banishment—and death—Popular infurrection—The parties of York and Lancaster—First armament of the duke of York—First Battle of St. Albans—Battle of Blore-beath—of Northampton—A parliament—Battle of Wakesield—Death of the duke of York—Battle of Mortimer's Cioss—Second Battle of St. Albans—Edward IV. assumes the crown—Miscellaneous transactions of this reign.

WEAK prince, seated on the throne of Eng-CHAP. land, had never sailed, how gentle soever and XXI. innocent, to be infested with faction, discontent, 1450. rebellion, and civil commotions; and as the incapacity of Henry appeared every day in a fuller light, these dangerous consequences began, from past experience, to be universally and justly apprehended. Men also of unquiet spirits, no longer employed in foreign wars, whence they were now excluded by the situation of the neighbouring states, were the more likely to excite intestine disorders, and, by their emulation, rivalship, and animosities, to tear the bowels of their native country. But though these causes alone were sufficient to breed confusion, there concurred another circumstance of the most dangerous nature: A pretender to the crown appeared: The title itself of the weak prince, who enjoyed the name of fovereignty, was difputed: N_2

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CHAP. puted: And the English were now to pay the severe, though late, penalty of their turbulence under Richard II. and of their levity in violating, without any necessity or just reason, the lineal succession of their monarchs.

Claim of the dake of York to

ALL the males of the house of Mortimer were extinct; but Anne, the fifter of the last earl of the crown. Marche, having espoused the earl of Cambridge, beheaded in the reign of Henry V. had transmitted her latent, but not yet forgotten, claim to her son, Richard duke of York. This prince, thus defcended by his mother from Philippa, only daughter of the duke of Clarence, second son of Edward III. stood plainly in the order of succession before the king, who derived his descent from the duke of Lancaster, third son of that monarch; and that claim could not, in many respects, have fallen into more dangerous hands than those of the duke of York. Richard was a man of valour and abilities, of a prudent conduct and mild dispositions: He had enjoyed an opportunity of displaying these virtues in his government of France: And though recalled from that command by the intrigues and superior interest of the duke of Somerset, he had been sent to suppress a rebellion in Ireland; had succeeded much better in that enterprise than his rival in the defence of Normandy; and had even been able to attach to his person and family the whole Irish nation, whom he was sent to subdue. In the right of his father, he bore the rank of first prince of the blood; and by this station he gave a lustre to his title derived from the family of Mortimer, which, though of great nobility, was equalled by other families in the kingdom, and had been eclipled by the royal descent of the house of Lancaster. He possessed an immense fortune from the union of so many successions, those of Cambridge and York on the one

hand, with those of Mortimer on the other: Which CHAP. last inheritance had before been augmented by an anion of the cstates of Clarence and Ulster with the patrimonial possessions of the family of Marche. The alliances too of Richard, by his marrying the daughter of Ralph Nevil earl of Westmoreland, had widely extended his interest among the nobility, and had procured him many connexions in that formidable order.

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THE family of Nevil was, perhaps, at this time the most potent, both from their opulent possessions, and from the characters of the men, that has ever appeared in England. For, besides the earl of Westmoreland, and the lords Latimer, Fauconberg, and Abergavenny; the earls of Salisbury and Warwic were of that family, and were of themfelves, on many accounts, the greatest noblemen in the kingdom. The carl of Salisbury, brother-inlaw to the duke of York, was the eldest son by a second marriage of the earl of Westmoreland; and inherited by his wife, daughter and heir of Montacute earl of Salitbury, killed before Orleans, the possessions and title of that great family. His eldest ton, Richard, had married Anne, the daughter and heir of Beauchamp earl of Warwic, who died governor of France; and by this alliance he enjoyed the possessions, and had acquired the title, of that other family, one of the most opulent, most ancient, and most illustrious in England. The personal qua-Theearlof lities also of these two earls, especially of Warwic, Warwic. enhanced the splendour of their nobility, and increated their influence over the people. This latter nobleman, commonly known, from the subsequent events, by the appellation of the King-maker, had distinguished himself by his gallantry in the field, by the hospitality of his table, by the magnificence, and still more by the generosity of his expence, and by the spirited and bold manner which attended him in all his actions. The undefigning frankness

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and openness of his character rendered his conquest over men's affections the more certain and infallible: His presents were regarded as sure testimonies of esteem and friendship; and his professions as the overflowings of his genuine fentiments. No less than 30,000 persons are said to have daily lived at his board in the different manors and castles which he possessed in England: The military men, allured by his muniticence and hospitality, as well as by his bravery, were zealously attached to his interests: The people in general bore him an unlimited affection: His numerous retainers were more devoted to his will, than to the prince or to the laws: And he was the greatest, as well as the last, of those mighty barons, who formerly overawed the crown. and rendered the people incapable of any regular system of civil government.

Bur the duke of York, besides the samily of Nevil, had many other partisans among the great nobility. Courtney earl of Devonshire, descended from a very noble samily of that name in France, was attached to his interests: Moubray duke of Norsolk had, from his hereditary hatred to the samily of Lancaster, embraced the same party: And the discontents, which universally prevailed among the people, rendered every combination of the great the more dangerous to the established govern-

ment.

Though the people were never willing to grant the supplies necessary for keeping possession of the conquered provinces in France, they repined extremely at the loss of these boasted acquisitions; and fancied, because a sudden irruption could make conquests, that without steady counsels, and a uniform expense, it was possible to maintain them. The voluntary cession of Maine to the queen's uncle had made them suspect treachery in the loss of Normandy and Guienne. They still considered Margaret as a French woman and a latent enemy of the king-

kingdom. And when they saw her father and all CHAP her relations active in promoting the success of the French, they could not be persuaded that she, who was all powerful in the English council, would very zealously oppose them in their enterprises.

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But the most fatal blow given to the popularity of the crown, and to the interests of the house of Lancaster, was by the assassination of the virtuous duke of Glocester, whose character, had he been alive, would have intimidated the partisans of York; but whose memory, being extremely cherished by the people, served to throw an odium on all his murderers. By this crime the reigning family suffered a double prejudice: It was deprived of its firmest support; and it was loaded with all the infamy of that imprudent and barbarous affassination.

As the duke of Suffolk was known to have had an active hand in the crime, he partook deeply of the hatred attending it; and the clamours, which necessarily rose against him, as prime minister, and declared favourite of the queen, were thereby augmented to a tenfold pitch, and became absolutely uncontrollable. The great nobility could ill brook to see a subject exalted above them; much more one who was only great grandson to a merchant, and who was of a birth so much inferior to theirs. The people complained of his arbitrary measures; which were, in some degree, a necessary consequence of the irregular power then possessed by the prince, but which the least dissassection easily magnissed into tyranny. The great acquisitions which he daily made were the object of envy; and as they were gained at the expence of the crown, which was itself reduced to poverty, they appeared, on that account, to all indifferent persons, the more exceptionable and invidious.

THE revenues of the crown, which had long been disproportioned to its power and dignity, had been

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C H A P. extremely dilapidated during the minority of Henry 9: both by the rapacity of the courtiers, which the king's uncles could not control, and by the necesfary expences of the French war, which had always been very ill supplied by the grants of parliament. The royal demesnes were dislipated; and at the same time the king was loaded with a debt of 372,000 pounds, a fum so great, that the parliament could never think of discharging it. This unhappy situation forced the ministers upon many arbitrary meafures: The household itself could not be supported without stretching to the utmost the right of purveyance, and rendering it a kind of universal robbery upon the people: The public clamour rose high upon this occasion, and no one had the equity to make allowance for the necessity of the king's situation. Suffolk, once become odious, bore the blame of the whole; and every grievance, in every part of the administration, was univerfally imputed to his tyranny and injustice.

Impeachment of the duke of Statolk.

Trus nobleman, sensible of the public hatred under which he laboured, and foreseeing an attack from the commons, endeavoured to overawe his enemies by boldly presenting himself to the charge. and by infifting upon his own innocence, and even upon his merits, and those of his family, in the public service. He rose in the house of peers; took notice of the clamours propagated against him; and complained, that after ferving the crown in thirty-four campaigns; after living abroad seventeen years without once returning to his native country; after losing a father and three brothers in the wars with France; after being himself a prifoner, and purchasing his liberty by a great ransom : it should yet be suspected, that he had been debauched from his allegiance by that enemy whom he had ever opposed with such zeal and fortitude, and that he had betrayed his prince, who had re- CHAP. warded his fervices by the highest honours and greatest offices that it was in his power to confer. This speech did not answer the purpose intended. The commons, rather provoked at his challenge, opened their charge against him, and sent up to the peers an accusation of high treason, divided into feveral articles. They infifted, that he had perfuaded the French king to invade England with an armed force, in order to depose the king, and to place on the thronehisown fon, John dela Pole, whom he intended to marry to Margaret, the only daughter of the late John duke of Somerlet, and to whom, he imagined, he would by that means acquire a title to the crown: That he had contributed to the release of the duke of Orleans, in hopes that that prince would affift king Charles in expelling the English from France, and recovering full possession of his kingdom: That he had afterwards encouraged that monarch to make open war on Normandy and Guienne, and had promoted his conquests by betraying the secrets of England, and obstructing the succours intended to be sent to those provinces: And that he had, without any powers or commission, promised by treaty to cede the province of Maine to Charles of Anjou, and had accordingly ceded it; which proved in the issue the chief cause of the loss of Normandy 1.

It is evident, from a review of these articles, that the commons adopted, without inquiry, all the popular clamburs against the duke of Sussolk, and charged him with crimes, of which none but the vulgar could seriously believe him guilty. Nothing can be more incredible, than that a nobleman, so little eminent by his birth and character, could think of acquiring the crown to his samily, and of deposing Henry by foreign force, and, together

r Cotton, p. 641. s Hill. p. 642. Hall. fol. 157. Hol-kingshed, p. 631. Craston, p. 654.

CHAP. with him, Margaret, his patron, a princess of so much spirit and penetration. Suffolk appealed to many noblemen in the house, who knew that he had intended to marry his fon to one of the coheirs of the earl of Warwic, and was disappointed in his views, only by the death of that lady: And he observed, that Margaret of Somerset could bring to her husband no title to the crown; because she herself was not so much as comprehended in the entail settled by act of parliament. It is easy to account for the loss of Normandy and Guienne, from the situation of affairs in the two kingdoms, without supposing any treachery in the English mi-nisters; and it may safely be affirmed, that greater vigour was requisite to defend these provinces from the arms of Charles VII. than to conquer them at first from his predecessor. It could never be the interest of any English minister to betray and abandon such acquisitions; much less of one who was so well established in his master's favour, who enjoyed fuch high honours and ample possessions in his own country, who had nothing to dread but the effects of popular hatred, and who could never think, without the most extreme reluctance, of becoming a fugitive and exile in a foreign land. The only article which carries any face of probability, is his engagement for the delivery of Maine to the queen's uncle: But Suffolk maintained, with great appearance of truth, that this measure was approved of by feveral at the council table; and it feems hard to ascribe to it, as is done by the commons, the subsequent loss of Normandy, and expulsion of the English. Normandy lay open on every side to the invasion of the French: Maine, an inland province, must soon after have fallen without any attack: And as the English possessed in other parts more fortresses than they could garrison

or provide for, it seemed no bad policy to contract C H A P. their force, and to render the desence practicable,

by reducing it within a narrower compals.

THE commons were probably fensible that this charge of treason against Susfolk would not bear a strict scrutiny; and they therefore, soon after, sent up against him a new charge of misdemeanors, which they also divided into several articles. They affirmed, among other imputations, that he had procured exorbitant grants from the crown, had embezzled the public money, had conferred offices on improper persons, had perverted justice by maintaining iniquitous causes, and had procured pardons for notorious offenders. The articles are mostly general; but are not improbable: And as Suffolk fecins to have been a bad man and a bad minister, it will not be rash in us to think that he was guilty, and that many of these articles could have been proved against him. The court was alarmed at the profecution of a favourite minister, who lay under fuch a load of popular prejudices; and an expedient was fallen upon to fave him from present ruin. The king lummoned all the lords, spiritual and temporal, to his apartment: The prisoner was produced befor them, and atked what he could fay in his own defence? He denied the charge; but submitted to the king's mercy: Henry expressed himself not fatisfied with regard to the first impeachment for treason; but in consideration of the second, for missiemeaners, he declared, that, by virtue of Suftolk's own submission, not by any judicial authority, he banished him the kingdom during sive years. The lords remained filent; but as foon as they re- Hisbaturned to their own house, they entered a protest, that this sentence should nowise infringe their privileges; and that, if Sullolk had infifted upon his right, and had not voluntarily submitted to the

nithment,

CHAP. king's commands, he was entitled to a trial by his peers in parliament.

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IT was easy to see, that these irregular proceedings were meant to favour Suffolk, and that, as he still possessed the queen's considence, he would, on the first favourable opportunity, be restored to his country, and be reinstated in his former power and credit. A captain of a vessel was therefore em. ployed by his enemies to intercept him in his pastand death. age to France: He was feized near Dover; his head struck off on the side of a long-boat; and his body thrown into the sea w. No inquiry was made after the actors and accomplices in this atrocious deed of violence.

The duke of Somerset succeeded to Susfolk's power in the ministry, and credit with the queen; and as he was the person under whose government the French provinces had been loft, the public, who always judge by the event, foon made him equally the object of their animosity and hatred. The duke of York was absent in Ireland during all these transactions; and however it might be suspected that his partifans had excited and supported the profecution against Suffolk, no immediate ground of complaint could, on that account, lie against him. But there happened, foon after, an incident which roused the jealousy of the court, and discovered to them the extreme danger to which they were exposed from the pretentions of that popular prince.

Popular infurrections.

THE humours of the people, set assoat by the parliamentary impeachment, and by the fall of fo great a favourite as Suffolk, broke out in various commotions, which were foon suppressed; but there arose one in Kent, which was attended with more dangerous confequences. A man of low condition, one John Cade, a native of Ireland, who had been

Stowe, W Hall, fol. 158. Hift. Croyland, contin. p 525. p. 388. Grafton, p. 610.

obliged to fly into France for crimes, observed, on CHAP. his return to England, the discontents of the people; and he laid on them the foundation of proiects which were at first crowned with surprising fuccess. He took the name of John Mortimer; intending, as is supposed, to pass himself for a son of that fir John Mortimer who had been sentenced to death by parliament, and executed, in the beginning of this reign, without any trial or evidence, merely upon an indictment of high treason given in against him . On the first mention of that popuhir name, the common people of Kent, to the number of 20,000, flocked to Cade's standard, and he excited their zeal by publishing complaints against the numerous abuses in government, and demanding a redrefs of grievances. The court, not yet fully sensible of the danger, sent a small force against the rioters, under the command of sir Humphrey Stafford, who was defeated and slain in an action near Sevenoke"; and Cade, advancing with his followers towards London, encamped on Blackheath. Though elated by his victory, he still maintained the appearance of moderation; and fending to the court a plaufible list of grievances z, he promised, that when these should be redressed, and when lord Say the treasurer and Cromer sheriff of Kent, should be punished for their malversations, he would immediately lay down his The council, who observed that nobody was willing to fight against men so reasonable in

* Stowe, p. 346. Cotton, p. 564. This author admires that such a piece of injustice should have been committed in peaceable times: He might have added, and by fuch virtuous princes as Bedford and Glocetter. But it is to be prefumed that Mortimer was guilty; though his condemnation was highly irregul r and illegal. The people had at this time a very feeble sense of law and a comutation; and power was very imperfectly reftrained by these boots. When the proceedings of a parliament were fo irregular, it is easy to imagine that those of a king would be more so.

Hall, fol. 159. Hollingthed, p 134. ² Stowe, p. 382, 389. Hollingshed, p. 633.

C II A P. their pretentions, carried the king, for present safety, to Kenilworth; and the city immediately opened its gates to Cade, who maintained, during some time, great order and discipline among his sollowers. He always led them into the fields during the night-time; and published severe edicts against plunder and violence of every kind: But being obliged, in order to gratify their malevolence against Say and Cromer, to put these men to death without a legal trial , he found that, after the commission of this crime, he was no longer master of their riotous disposition, and that all his orders were neglected b. They broke into a rich house, which they plundered; and the citizens, alarmed at this act of violence, shut their gates against them; and being feconded by a detachment of soldiers sent them by lord Scales, governor of the Tower, they repulsed the rebels with great slaughter. The Kentishmen were so discouraged by the blow, that, upon receiving a general pardon from the primate, then chancellor, they retreated towards Rochester, and there dispersed. The pardon was soon after annulled, as extorted by violence: A price was fet on Cade's head d, who was killed by one Iden, a gentleman of Sussex; and many of his followers were capitally punished for their rebellion.

> IT was imagined by the court, that the duke of York had fecretly instigated Cade to this attempt, in order to try, by that experiment, the dispositions of the people towards his title and family. And as the event had so far succeeded to his wish, the ruling party had greater reason than ever to apprehend the future consequences of his pretensions. At the same time they heard that he intended to return from Ireland; and fearing that he meant to bring an armed force along with him, they issued

[·] Hift. Croyland, b Hall, fol. 160. * Grafton, p. 612. c Cotton, contin. p. 526. 4 Rymer, vol. xi. p. 275. p. 661. Stowe, p. 391.

orders, in the king's name, for opposing him, and C II A P. for debarring him entrance into England f. But XXI. the duke refuted his enemies by coming attended with no more than his ordinary retinue: The precautions of the ministers served only to shew him their jealousy and malignity against him: He was sensible that his title, by being dangerous to the king, was also become dangerous to himself: He now saw the impossibility of remaining in his present situation, and the necessity of proceeding forward in support of his claim. His partitans, therefore, were instructed to maintain, in all companies, his right by succession, and by the established laws and constitution of the kingdom: These questions became every day more and more the subject of conversation: The minds of men were inscussibly sharpened against each other by disputes, before they came to more dangerous extremities: And various topics were pleaded in support of the pretensions of each party.

THE partisans of the house of Lancaster main- The partained, that though the elevation of Henry IV. ties of Lancatter might at first be deemed somewhat irregular, and and York. could not be justified by any of those principles on which that prince chose to rest his title, it was yet founded on general consent, was a national act, and was derived from the voluntary approbation of a free people, who, being loosened from their allegiance by the tyranny of the preceding government, were moved by gratitude, as well as by a sense of public interest, to entrust the sceptre into the hands of their deliverer: That, even if that establishment were allowed to be at first invalid, it had acquired solidity by time; the only principle which ultimately gives authority to government, and removes those scruples which the irregular steps attending almost all revolutions naturally excite in the minds

CHAP. of the people: That the right of succession was a rule admitted only for general good, and for the maintenance of public order; and could never be pleaded to the overthrow of national tranquillity, and the subversion of regular establishments: That the principles of liberty, no less than the maxims of internal peace, were injured by these pretensions of the house of York; and if so many reiterated acts of the legislature, by which the crown was entailed on the present family, were now invalidated, the English must be considered, not as a free people, who could dispose of their own government, but as a troop of flaves, who were implicitly transmitted by succession from one master to another: That the nation was bound to allegiance under the house of Lancaster by moral, no less than by political duty; and were they to infringe those numerous oaths of fealty which they had fworn to Henry and his predecessors, they would thenceforth be thrown loofe from all principles, and it would be found difficult ever after to fix and restrain them: That the duke of York himself had frequently done homage to the king as his lawful fovereign, and had thereby, in the most solemn manner, made an indirect renunciation of those claims with which he now dares to disturb the tranquillity of the public: That, even though the violation of the rights of blood, made on the deposition of Richard, was perhaps rash and imprudent, it was too late to remedy the mischief; the danger of a disputed succession could no longer be obviated; the people, accustomed to a government, which, in the hands of the late king, had been fo glorious, and in that of his predecessor so prudent and falutary, would still ascribe a right to it; by causing multiplied disorders, and by shedding an inundation of blood, the advantage would only be obtained of exchanging one pretender for another; and the house of York itself, if established on the throne, would, on the first opportunity,

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he exposed to those revolutions which the giddy spi- C II A P. rit excited in the people gave so much reason to XXI. apprehend: And that though the present king enjoyed not the shining talents which had appeared in his father and grandfather, he might still have a son who should be endowed with them; he is himfelf eminent for the most harmless and inossensive manners; and if active princes were dethroned on pretence of tyranny, and indolent ones on the plea of incapacity, there would thenceforth remain, in the constitution, no chablished rule of obelience to any lovereign.

THESE strong topics, in favour of the house of Lancaster, were opposed by arguments rootel convincing on the fide of the house of York. The parcifans of this latter family afferred, that the malntenance of order in the fuccession of princes, far from doing injury to the people, or invalidating their fund mental title to good government, was ellablished only for the purposes of government, and served to prevent those numberless confussions which mult enfue, if no rule were followed but the uncertain and disputed views of present convenience and advantage: That the same maxime which onfored public peace, were also falutary to national liberty; the privileges of the people could only be maintained by the observance of laws; and if no account were made of the rights of the fovereign, it build less be expected that any regard would be paid to the property and freedom of the subject: That it was never too late to correct any pernicious precedent; an unjust establishment, the longer it flood, acquired the greater fanction and validity; it could, with more appearance of reason, be plea ied as an authority for a like injuffic; and the in intenance of it, inflead of favouring public tranquility, tended to disjoint every principle by which numan ficiety was supported: That usurpers would be happy, if their prefent possession of power, or Vol. III. their

CHAP. their continuance for a few years, could convert them into legal princes; but nothing would be more miserable than the people, if all restraints on violence and ambition were thus removed, and a full scope given to the attempts of every turbulent innovator: That time, indeed, might bestow solidity on a government whose first foundations were the most infirm; but it required both a long course of time to produce this effect, and the total extinction of those claimants, whose title was built on the original principles of the constitution: That the deposition of Richard II. and the advancement of Henry IV. were not deliberate national acts, but the result of the levity and violence of the people, and proceeded from those very defects in human nature, which the establishment of political society, and of an order in succession, was calculated to prevent: That the subsequent entails of the crown were a continuance of the same violence and usurpation; they were not ratified by the legislature, since the consent of the rightful king was still wanting; and the acquiescence, first of the family of Mortimer, then of the family of York, proceeded from present necessity, and implied no renunciation of their pretensions: That the restoration of the true order of succession could not be considered as a change which familiarised the people to revolutions; but as the correction of a former abuse, which had itself encouraged the giddy spirit of innovations, rebellion, and disobedience: And that, as the original title of Lancaster stood only in the person of Henry IV. on present convenience, even this principle, unjustifiable as it was, when not supported by laws, and warranted by the constitution, had now entirely gone over to the other fide; nor was there any comparison between a prince utterly unable to sway the sceptre, and blindly governed by corrupt ministers, or by an imperious queen, engaged in foreign and hostile interests; and a prince

of mature years, of approved wisdom and expect CHAP. rience, a native of England, the lineal heir of the crown, who, by his restoration, would replace every thing on ancient foundations.

So many plausible arguments could be urged on both sides of this interesting question, that the people were extremely divided in their fentiments; and though the noblemen of greatest power and influence seem to have espoused the party of York, the opposite cause had the advantage of being supported by the present laws, and by the immediate possession of royal authority. There were also many great noblemen in the Lancastrian party, who balanced the power of their antagonists, and kept the nation in suspense between them. The earl of Northumberland adhered to the present government: The earl of Westmoreland, in spite of his connexions with the duke of York, and with the family of Nevil, of which he was the head, was brought over to the same party; and the whole north of England, the most warlike part of the kingdom, was, by means of these two potent noblemen, warmly engaged in the interests of Lancaster. Edmund Beaufort, duke of Somerset, and his brother Henry, were great supports of that cause; as were also Henry Holland duke of Exeter, Stafford duke of Buckingham, the earl of Shrewsbury, the lords Clifford, Dudley, Scales, Audley, and other noblemen.

WHILE the kingdom was in this situation, it might naturally be expected that so many turbulent barons, possessed of so much independent authority, would immediately have flown to arms, and have decided the quarrel, after their usual manner, by war and battle, under the standards of the contending princes. But there still were many causes which retarded these desperate extremities, and made a long train of faction, intrigue, and cabal, precede the military operations. By the gradual progress of

C II A XXL arts in England, as well as in other parts of Europe, the people were now become of some importance; laws were beginning to be respected by them; and it was requisite, by various pretences, previously to reconcile their minds to the overthrow of fuch an ancient establishment as that of the house of Lancaster, ere their concurrence could reasonably be expected. The duke of York himself, the new claimant, was of a moderate and cautious character an enemy to elence, and disposed to trust rather to time and po than to fanguinary mealures, for the fuccess of his pretensions. The very imbecility itself of Henry, tended to keep the factions in julpense, and make them stand long in awe of each other: It rendered the Lancastrian party unable to strike any violent blow against their enemies; it encouraged the Yorkists to hope, that, after banishing the king's ministers, and getting posfession of his person, they might gradually undermine his authority, and be able, without the perilous expedient of a civil war, to change the succesfion by parliamentary and legal authority.

1451. 6th Nov. The dispositions which appeared in a parliament assembled soon after the arrival of the duke of York from Ireland, savoured these expectations of his partisans, and both discovered an unusual boldness in the commons, and were a proof of the general discontents which prevailed against the administration. The lower house, without any previous enquiry or examination, without alleging any other ground of complaint than common same, ventured to present a petition against the duke of Somerset, the duches of Sussolk, the bishop of Chester, Sir John Sutton, lord Dudley, and several others of interior rank; and they prayed the king to remove them for ever from his person and councils, and to prohibit them from approaching within twelve miles of the court.

X v1.

1451.

This was a violent attack, somewhat arbitrary, and C II A P supported but by few precedents, against the miniltry; yet the king durlt not openly oppose it: He replied, that, except the lords, he would banith all the others from court during a year, unless he should have occasion for their service in suppressing any rebellion. At the same time he rejected a bill which had passed both houses, for attainting the late duke of Suffolk, and which, in feveral of its clauses, discovered a very general prejudice against the meafares of the court.

> 1-57. he lat m um ut

THE duke of York, trusting to the Amptoms, raifed an army of 10,000 men, who which he marched towards London; demandir y a reformation of the government, and the loval of the dulte of Somerfet from all power. I tuthority b. I e unexpectedly found the fat the city thut against him; and, on his remains no Kent, he was followed by the king at the react of a fuperior army; in which feveral of Kiche d'ed lends, partiwith a view of mediating between the parties, and of feconding, on occation, the case of York's pretensions. A parley ensued: Richard still insisted upon the removal of Somerfet, and his fubmitting to a trial in parliament: The court pretended to comply with his demand; and that nobleman was put m arreft: The duke of York was then perfunded to pay his respects to the king in his tent; and, on repeating his charge against the duke of Somerset, he was surprised to see that minister step from behind the curtain, and offer to maintain his Richard now found that he had been innocence. betrayed; that he was in the hands of his enemies; and that it was become necessary, for his own safety, to lower his pretentions. No violence, however, was attempted against him: The nation was not in CHAP, a disposition to bear the destruction of so popular a XXI. prince: He had many friends in Henry's camp: And his son, who was not in the power of the court, 1452. might still be able to revenge his death on all his enemies: He was therefore dismissed; and he retime to his feat of Wigmore on the borders of Wales i.

WHILE the duke of York lived in this retreat, there happened an incident, which, by encreasing the public discontents, proved favourable to his pretensions. Several Gascon lords, affectionate to the English government, and disgusted at the new dominion of the French, came to London, and offered to return to their allegiance under Henry k. The earl of Shrewsbury, with a body of 8000 men, was fent over to support them. Bourdeaux opened its gates to him: He made himself master of Fronfac, Castillon, and some other places: Affairs besoth July gan to wear a favourable aspect: But, as Charles hastened to resist this dangerous invasion, the fortunes of the English were soon reversed: Shrewsbury, a venerable warrior, above fourscore years of age, fell in battle; his conquests were lost; Bourdeaux was again obliged to submit to the French king; and all hopes of recovering the province of Gascony were for ever extinguished.

Though the English might deem themselves happy to be fairly rid of distant dominions which were of no use to them, and which they never could defend against the growing power of France, they expressed great discontent on the occasion; and they threw all the blame on the ministry, who had not been able to effect impossibilities. While they were

rith Offician this disposition, the Queen's delivery of a son, who received the name of Edward, was deemed no joyful incident; and as it removed all hopes of the

i Grafton, p. 620. k Hollingshed, p. 640.

I lolyd. Vieg. p. 501. Grafton, p. 623.

peaceable succession of the duke of York, who was CHAP. otherwise, in the right of his father, and, by the laws enacted since the accession of the house of Lancaster, next heir to the crown, it had rather a tendency to inflame the quarrel between the parties. But the duke was incapable of violent counsels; and even when no visible obstacle lay between him and the throne, he was prevented by his own scruples from mounting it. Henry, always unfit to exercise the government, fell at this time into a distemper, which so far encreased his natural imbecility, that it rendered him incapable of maintaining even the appearance of royalty. The queen and the council, dellitute of this support, found themselves unable to resist the York party; and they were obliged to vield to the torrent. They fent Somerset to the Tower; and appointed Richard lieutenant of the kingdom, with powers to open and hold a session of parliament m. That affembly also, taking into confideration the state of the kingdom, created him protector during pleasure. Men who thus entrusted fovereign authority to one that had such evident and strong pretensions to the crown, were not surely averse to his taking immediate and full possession of it: Yet the duke, instead of pushing them to make farther concessions, appeared somewhat timid and irresolute, even in receiving the power which was tendered to him. He desired that it might be recorded in parliament, that this authority was conferred on him from their own free motion, without any application on his part: He expressed his hopes that they would affist him in the exercise of it: He made it a condition of his acceptance, that the other lords, who were appointed to be of his council, should also accept of the trust, and should exercise it: And he required that all the powers of his office thould be specified and defined by act of parliament.

CHAP. This moderation of Richard was certainly very unusual and very amiable; yet was it attended with bad consequences in the present juncture, and, by giving time to the animofities of faction to rife and ferment, it proved the source of all those surious wars and commotions which enfued.

THE enemies of the duke of York foon found it in their power to make advantage of his excellive caution. Henry, being so far recovered from his distemper as to carry the appearance of enercising the royal power; they moved him to resume his authority, to annul the protectorship of the duke, to release Somerset from the Tower, and to commit the administration into the hands of that nobleman. Richard, sensible of the dangers which might attend his former acceptance of the parliamentary commisfion, should be submit to the annulling of it, levied an army; but still without advancing any pretentions to the crown. He complained only of the king's ministers, and demanded a reformation of the go-First barne vernment. A battle was fought at St. Albans, in which the Yorkists were superior, and, without suffering any material loss, slew about 5000 of their enemies; among whom were the duke of Somerfet, the carl of Northumberland, the earl of Stafford, eldest son of the duke of Buckingham, lord Clissord, and many other persons of distinction. The king himself fell into the hands of the duke of York, who treated him with great respect and tenderness: He was only obliged (which he regarded as no hardship)

of St. Al-22d Liay.

1435.

THIS was the first blood spilt in that fatal quarrel, which was not finished in less than a course of thirty years, which was fignalized by twelve pitched battles, which opened a fcene of extraordinary fierce-

to commit the whole authority of the crown into the

· Stone, p. 309. Hollingshed, p. 643.

hands of his rival.

n Rymer, vol. xi. p. 361 Hollingshed, p 642. Grafton, p. 626.

ness and cruelty, is computed to have cost the lives CHAP. of eighty princes of the blood, and almost entirely annihilated the ancient nobility of England. The strong attachments which at that time, men of the fame kindred bore to each other, and the vindictive spirit, which was considered as a point of honour, rendered the great families implacable in their re-Entments, and every moment widened the breach between the parties. Yet affairs did not immediately proceed to the last extremities: The nation was kept some time in suspense: The vigour and spirit of queen Margaret, supporting her small power, fill proved a balance to the great authority of Richard, which was checked by his irrefolute temper. A parliament, which was foon after affem- 9th July. I led plainly discovered, by the contrariety of their proceedings, the contrariety of the motives by which they were actuated. They granted the Yorkists a general indomnity; and they reflored the protectorthip to the duke, who, in accepting it, still perfesered in all his former precautions: But at the large time they renewed their oaths of fealty to Henry, and fixed the continuance of the protectorship to the majority of his fon Edward, who was vefted with the utual dignities of prince of Wales, duke of Cornwal, and earl of Cheller. The only decifive act, passed in this parliament, was a full resumption of all the grants which had been made fince the death of Henry V. and which had reduced the crown to great poverty.

It was not found difficult to wrest power from hands to little tenacious as those of the duke of York. Margaret, availing herself of that prince's absence, produced her husband before the house of lords; and, as his state of health permitted him at that time to act his part with some tolerable decency, he declared his intentions of refuming the government, and of putting an end to Richard's au-

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XXI. 1453.

1456.

thority.

XXI. 1456.

1457.

CHAP. thority. This measure being unexpected, was not opposed by the contrary party: The house of lords, who were many of them disgusted with the late act of resumption, assented to Henry's proposal: And the king was declared to be reinstated in sovereign authority. Even the duke of York acquiesced in this irregular act of the peers; and no diffurbance ensued. But that prince's claim to the crown was too well known, and the steps which he had taken to promote it, were too evident, ever to allow fincere trust and confidence to have place between the parties. The court retired to Coventry, and invited the duke of York and the earls of Salisbury and Warwic to attend the king's person. When they were on the road they received intelligence that designs were formed against their liberties and lives. They immediately separated themselves: Richard withdrew to his castle of Wigmore; Salisbury to Middleham in Yorkshire: And Warwic to his government of Calais, which had been committed to him after the battle of St. Albans, and which, as it gave him the command of the only regular military force maintained by England, was of the utmost importance in the present juncture. Still men of peaceable dispositions, and among the rest, Bourchier, archbishop of Canterbury, thought it not too late to interpose with their good offices, in order to prevent that effusion of blood with which the kingdom was threatened; and the awe in which each party stood of the other, rendered the mediation for some time successful. It was agreed that all the great leaders on both sides should meet in London, and be folemnly reconciled. The duke of York and his partisans came thither with numerous retinues, and took up their quarters near each other for mutual security. The leaders of the Lancastrian party used the same precaution. The mayor, at the head of 5000 men, kept a strict

¥458.

watch night and day; and was extremely vigilant CHAP. in maintaining peace between them P. Terms were adjusted, which removed not the ground of difference. An outward reconciliation only was procured: And in order to notify this accord to the whole people, a solemn procession to t. Paul's was appointed, where the duke of York led queen Margaret, and a leader of one party marched hand in hand with a leader of the opposite. The less real cordiality prevailed, the more were the exterior demonstrations of amity redoubled. But it was evident, that a contcit for a crown could not thus be peaceably accommodated; that each party watched only for an opportunity of subverting the other; and that much blood must yet be spilt, ere the nation could be restored to perfect tranquillity, or enjoy a settled and established government.

EVEN the smallest accident, without any formed defign, was lufficient. in the present disposition of men's minds, to dissolve the seeming harmony between the parties; and had the intentions of the leaders been ever so amicable, they would have found it difficult to restrain the animosity of their followers. One of the king's retinue infulted one of the earl of Warwic's: Their companions on both fides took part in the quarrel: A fierce combat ensued: The earl apprehended his life to be aimed at: He fled to his government of Calais; and both parties, in every county of England, openly made preparations for deciding the contest by war and

THE earl of Salisbury, marching to join the duke Battle of of York, was overtaken, at Blore-heath, on the Bloreborders of Staffordshire, by lord Audley, who com- 23d Sept. manded much superior forces; and a small rivulet

14590

P Fabian Chron. anno 1458. The author fays, that some lords brought 9:0 retainers, some 600, none less than 400. See also Grafton, P. 633.

C HAP, with steep banks ran between the armies. Salisbury here supplied his defect in numbers by stratagem; a refinement, of which there occur few inflances in the English civil wars, where a headlong courage, more than military conduct, is commonly to be remarked. He seigned a retreat, and allured Audley to follow him with precipitation: But when the van of the royal army had patied the brook, Salithury, fulldealy turned upon them; and partly by the jurprife, partly by the division, of the enemies' forces, put this body to rout: The example of flight was followed by the rell of the army: And Salithury, obtaining a complete victory, reached the general rendezvous of the Yorkifts at Ludlow 9.

The earl of Warwic Frought over to this rendezvous a choice body or veterans from Calais, on whom it was thought the fortune of the war would much depend; but this reinforcement occasioned, in the liftie, the immediate rain of the dake of York's party. When the royal army approached, and a general action was every hour expected, Sir Andrew Trollop, who commanded the veterans, deferred to the king in the night-time; and the Yerkids were so dismayed at this instance of treachery, which made every man fuspicious of his fellow, that they separated next day without striking a stroke: The duke fled to Ireland: The earl of Warwic, attended by many of the other leaders, efciped to Calaic; where his great popularity among all orders of men, particularly among the military, from drew to him partifans, and renrered his power very formidable. The friends of the house of York, in England, kept themselves every where in readiness to rife on the first summons from their leaders.

1460.

After inceting with some successes at sea, Warwic landed in Kent, with the earl of Salitbury, and

I Hollingshed, 4 Hollineflied, p. 619. Grafton, p 936. p. 650. Grafton, 1.537. the

the earl of Marche, eldest son of the duke of York; CII 1 P. and being met by the primate, by lord Cobham, and other persons of diffinction, he marched, amidit the acclamations of the people, to I onden. The city immediately opened its gates to him; and his troops encreasing on every day's march, he foon found himself in a condition to face the royal army, which hastened from Coventry to attack him. The nattle a battle was fought at Northampten; and was foon beeft decided against the royaluls by the intidesit, of lord some average. Grey of Ruthin, who, commanding Henry's van, deterted to the enemy during the heat of action, and foread a confictnation tarough the troops. The deke of Buckingham, the carl of Serewbury, the for is Beaum but and Egremont, and Sir William Lucic, were killed in the action or purmit: The Can heer feil chiefly on the gentry and nocidity; the come on people were spared by orders or the earls or Warne and netrene'. Heavy himleli, that engle find a of a ime, vas again tracen prifoner; a like the imposence and implicity of his manners, which hore the appearance of fancilty, had procured him the tender regard of the people', the earl of Warwie and the other leaders took cure to diftinguith themselves by their respectful demeanour towards him.

14' 0.

A PARLIAMENT was founded in the king's A parliarance and met at Mathematites, where the duke 7th oat from after appeared notal freland. This prince had hever him to advisced openly any claim to the crown: He had one complained of ill ministers, and demanded a rode is of grievances: And even, in the pretent cries, when the parliament was furrounded by his vicentious army, he showed such a regard to law and liber y, as is unufual during the prevalence of a party in any civil diffentions; and was still less to be expected in those violent and li-

t Hall, fol. 16). Grafton, p. 105. ' Stowe, p. 409. centions

CHAP. centious times. He advanced towards the throne; and being met by the archbishop of Canterbury, who asked him, whether he had yet paid his respects to the king? he replied, that he knew of none to whom he owed that title. He then stood near the throne ", and addressing himself to the house of peers, he gave them a deduction of his title by descent, mentioned the cruelties by which the house of Lancaster had paved their way to sovereign power, insisted on the calamities which had attended the government of Henry, exhorted them to return into the right path, by doing justice to the lineal successor, and thus pleaded his cause before them as his natural and legal judges w. This cool and moderate manner of demanding a crown, intimidated his friends, and encouraged his enemies: The lords remained in suspense *; and no one ventured to utter a word on the occasion. Richard, who had probably expected that the peers would have invited him to place himself on the throne, was much disappointed at their silence; but desiring them to reflect on what he had proposed to them, he departed the house. The peers took the matter into consideration, with as much tranquillity as if it had been a common subject of debate: They desired the assistance of some considerable members among the commons in their deliberations: They heard, in several successive days, the reasons alleged for the duke of York: They even ventured to propose objections to his claim, founded on former entails of the crown, and on the oaths of fealty sworn to the house of Lancaster, They also observed, that, as Richard had all along borne the arms of York, not those of Clarence, he could not claim as fuccessor to the latter family: And after receiving answers to these objections, derived from the violence and power by which the house of Lancaster

[&]quot; Hollingshed, p. 655. " Cotton, p. 665. Grafton, p. 643.

Hollingshed, p 657. Grafton, p. 645. Y Cotton, p. 666.

supported their present possession of the crown, they C H A P. proceeded to give a decision. Their sentence was XXI. calculated, as far as possible, to please both parties: They declared the title of the duke of York to be certain and indefeasible; but in consideration that Henry had enjoyed the crown, without dispute or controversy, during the course of thirty-eight years, they determined, that he should continue to possess the title and dignity during the remainder of his life; that the administration of the government, meanwhile, should remain with Richard; that he should be acknowledged the true and lawful heir of the monarchy; that every one should swear to maintain his succession, and it should be treason to attempt his life; and that all former settlements of the crown, in this and the two last reigns, should be abrogated and rescinded 2. The duke acquiesced in this decision: Henry himself, being a prisoner, could not oppose it: Even if he had enjoyed his liberty, he would not probably have felt any violent reluctance against it: And the act thus passed with the unanimous confent of the whole legislative body. Though the mildness of this compromise is chiefly to be ascribed to the moderation of the duke of York, it is impossible not to observe in those transactions visible marks or a higher regard to law, and of a more fixed authority, enjoyed by parliament, than has appeared in any ormer period of English history.

IT is probable that the duke, without employing either menaces or violence, could have obtained from the commons a fettlement more confistent and uniform: But as many, if not all the members of the upper house had received grants, concessions, or dignities during the last sixty years, when the house of Lancaster was possessed of the government; they were atraid of invalidating their

² Cotton, p. 666. Grafton, p. 647.

XXI.

C H AP. own titles by too fudden and violent an overthrow of that family; and in thus temporifing between the parties, they fixed the throne on a basis upon which it could not possibly stand. The duke, apprehending his chief danger to arife from the genius and spirit of queen Margaret, sought a pretence for banishing her the kingdom: He sent her, in the king's name, a fummons to come immediately to London; intending, in case of her disobedience, to proceed to extremities against her. But the queen needed not this menace to excite her activity in defending the rights of her family. After the defeat at Northampton, she sled with her infant son to Durham, thence to Scotland; but foon returning, she applied to the northern barons, and employed every motive to procure their affiftance. Her affability, infinuation, and address, qualities in which she excelled; her caresses, her promises, wrought a powerful effect on every one who approached her: The admiration of her great qualities was fucceeded by compassion towards her helpless condition: The nobility of that quarter, who regarded themselves as the most warlike in the kingdom, were moved by indignation to find the fouthern barons pretend to dispose of the crown and settle the government: And that they might allure the people to their standard, they promised them the spoils of all the provinces on the other fide of the Trent. By these means, the queen had collected an army twenty thousand strong, with a celerity which was neither expected by her friends, nor apprehended by her enemies.

THE duke of York, informed of her appearance in the north, hastened thither with a body of 5000 men, to suppress, as he imagined, the Leginnings of an infurrection; when, on his arrival at Wakefield, he found himself so much outnumbered ly the enemy. He threw himself into Sandal castle, which was fituated in the neighbourhood; and he and other was advised by the earl of Salisbury,

prudent

prudent counsellors, to remain in that fortress, till CHAP. his fon, the earl of Marche, who was levying forces in the borders of Wales, could advance to his affistance a. But the duke, though deficient in political courage, possessed personal bravery in an eminent degree; and notwithstanding his william and experience, he thought that he should be for ever difgraced, if, by taking flitter behind walls, he should for a moment resign the victory to a woman. He descended into the plain, and offered Battle of hattle to the enemy, which was inflently accepted. Wake-The great inequality of numbers was fulficient alone zata Dec. to decide the victory; but the queen, by fending a detachment, who fell on the back of the duke's army, rendered her advantage Hill more cer' in and undifputed. The duke himself was killed in the Post of action; and as his Lody was found among the house flain, the head was cut od by Magaret's order, and fixed on the gares of Yoll, will a guy men was upon it, in der "i'm of his a sord tolds," of stor, the earl of Rutiand, a young of ference, whi brought to lord the date and the harburn, in revenge of his tasked's dealer who had your I in the battle of St. Johns, not lacd it cod alod, and with his own hards, the late of traine, whose exterior figure, as well as other reconstillerents, are represented by he takes one or tendely in lable. The earl of Salichury was a socied and taken prioner, an Limmoll nely robe dea, with feveral other perfons of diffinction, by recruial low at Pemfret's. There fell near three thouland Yer ills in this battle: The noke bimtelf was greatly and faftly lamented by his own party; a prince who merited a better fate, and whole errors in conduct proceeded enthely from full qualities, as render him the more an object of effects and affection. He perished in the fillieth year of his age, and left three fons, Ed-

1460.

a Stowe, p. 112.

C H A P. ward, George, and Richard, with three daughters

Anne, Elizabeth, and Margaret.

THE queen, after this important victory, divided her army. She fent the smaller division, under Jasper Tudor, earl of Pembroke, half brother to the king, against Edward, the new duke of York. She herself marched with the larger division towards London, where the earl of Warwic had been left with the command of the Yorkists. Pembroke was defeated by Edward at Mortimer's Cross in Herefordshire, with the loss of near 4000 men: His army was dispersed; he himself escaped by slight; but his father, sir Owen Tudor, was taken prisoner, and immediately beheaded by Edward's orders. This barbarous practice, being once begun, was continued by both parties, from a spirit of revenge, which covered itself under the pretence of retaliation c.

Battle of Mortimer's Cross.

1461.

Second battle of St.Albans

MARGARET compensated this descat by a victory which she obtained over the earl of Warwic. That nobleman, on the approach of the Lancastrians, led out his army, reinforced by a strong body of the Londoners, who were affectionate to his cause; and he gave battle to the queen at St. Albans. While the armies were warmly engaged, Lovelace, who commanded a considerable body of the Yorkists, withdrew from the combat; and this treacherous conduct, of which there are many instances in those civil wars, decided the victory in favour of the queen. About 2300 of the vanquished perished in the battle and pursuit; and the person of the king fell again into the hands of his own party. This weak prince was fure to be almost equally a prisoner whichever faction had the keeping of him; and scarcely any more decorum was observed by one than by the other, in their method of treating him. Lord Bonville, to whose care he had been entrusted by the Yorkists, remained with him after the defeat, on affurances CHAP. of pardon given him by Henry: But Margaret, re- XXI. gardless of her husband's promise, immediately ordered the head of that nobleman to be struck off by the executioner d. Sir Thomas Kiriel, a brave warrior, who had fignalifed himfelf in the French wars, was treated in the same manner.

1461.

THE queen made no great advantage of this victory: Young Edward advanced upon her from the other fide; and collecting the remains of Warwic's army, was foon in a condition of giving her battle with fuperior forces. She was fenfible of her danger, while she lay between the enemy and the city of London; and she found it necessary to retreat with her army to the north . Edward entered the capital amidst the acclamations of the citizens, and immediately opened a new scene to his party. This prince, in the bloom of youth, remarkable for the beauty of his person, for his bravery, his activity, his affability, and every popular quality, found himself so much possessed of public favour, that, elated with the spirit natural to his age, he refolved no longer to confine Limself within those narrow limits which his father had prescribed to himself, and which had been found by experience so prejudicial to his cause. He determined to assume the name and dignity of king; to infift openly on his claim; and thenceforth to treat the opposite party as traitors and rebels to his lawful authority. But as a national consent, or the appearance of it, still seemed, notwithstanding his plausible title, requisite to precede this bold measure, and as the assembling of a parliament might occasion too many delays, and be attended with other inconveniencies, he ventured to proceed in a less regular manner, and to put it out of the power of his enemics to throw obstacles in the way of his elevation. army was ordered to assemble in St. John's Fields;

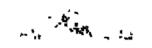
F Twind IV. 1: :: Cro

CHAP, great numbers of people furrounded them; an harangue was pronounced to this mixed multitude, tetting forth the title of Edward, and inveighing against the tyranny and usurpation of the rival family; and the people were then alked, whether they would have Henry of Langaster for king? They unanimoutly exclaimed again't the proposal. It was then demanded, whether they would accept of Edward, eldeft fon of the lite dake of York? They exprefied their affent by fould and joyful acciamations f. A great number of bitheps, lords, magistrates, and other perions of dillinedion, were next affembled at Davnar. I's callle, who ratified the popular election: 5, and the new king was on the fublequent day proclaimed in London, by the title of Edward IV.

in this manner ended the reign of Henry VI. a more each who, while in his cradle, had been proclaimed king beth of France and England, and who be you his life with the most folendid prospects that any process in Europe land over enjoyed. The revolution was unit only for his people, as it was the fource of civil wars, but was almost entirely indifferent to Henry himself, who was utterly incapable of exercising his and it rity, and who, provided he personally met with good n'e e, was equally eafy, as he was equally en-il ved in the hands of his enemics and of his friends. Dis weaknels and his disputed title were the chies cautes of the public calamities: But whether his queen, and his ministers, were not also guilty of some great abases of power, it is not eafy for us at this diftance of time to determine: There remain no proofs on record of any confiderable violation of the laws, carept in the affathmation of the duke of Glocester, which was a private crime, formed no precedent, and was but too much of a piece with the afual terocity and cruetty of the times.

F Grafton, p. 653. Stowe, p. 11. Hollingflied, p. 601.

THE



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actions of

this reign.

THE most remarkable law, which passed in this CHAP. reign, was that for the due cledion of members of parliament in counties. After the fall of the feudal Aftem, the distinction of tenures was in some measure Mil clasit; and every freeholder, as well those who held of ; icfine lords, as the immediate tenants of the crown, were by degrees admitted to give their votes at elections. This innovation (for fuch it may probably be effected) was indirectly confirmed by a law of Henry 17.7, which gave right to fuch a multitude of electers as was the occasion of great diforder. In the eighth and tenth of this king, therefore, laws were cacted, limiting the electors to futh as policifid that foillings a year in land, free from all lurdens, all in the county. This fum visce, it aleat to near techny pounds a year or our precint money; and it sere to be wished, that i've fillit, as well as letter of the law, ball but a resintained.

The premiels of the farete is remulable: Valuereas the elections of Epiplies here of Toes, in "many counties of Laglance, i.e.n. made by ent-" rages and each two map here of people, a may of " them of finall fell force on i value, yet prit is hig " to a right equal to the bed builder and equite; " whereby mandaughters, thete, butteries, and divi-" from among the gentlemen and effect prople of the fame countries, shall very likely alle and be, " unless due remedy be provided in this I do it, do." We may learn from thefe exprehiens, what an impertant matter the election of a member of parliement was now become in England: That aftembly was beginning in this period to assume great authomy: The commons had it wuch in their power to enforce the execution of the laws; and if they failed il freeds in this particular, it proceeded less from any exorbitant power of the crown, therefrom the li-Cations spirit of the miltocreey, and pathaps from

[&]quot; Statute at Large, 7 Henry W. com to.

¹ Ibid 8 Henry VI cap 7. To Hear; VI cap. 2.

C !! A P. the rude education of the age, and their own ignorance of the advantages refulting from a regular ad-

ministration of justice.

WHEN the duke of York, the earls of Salisbury and Warwic, fled the kingdom upon the defertion of their troops, a parliament was fummoned at Coventry in 1460, by which they were all attainted. This parliament feems to have been very irregularly constituted, and scarcely deserves the name: Infomuch, that an act passed in it, " that all such " knights of any county as were returned by virtue of the king's letters, without any other election, " should be valid, and that no sherist should, for " returning them, incur the penalty of the statute of Henry IV "." All the acts of that parliament were afterwards reverfed; " because it was unlaw-" fully fummoned, and the knights and barons nor

" duly chosen "."

The parliaments in this reign, instead of relaxing their vigitance against the usurpations of the court of Rome, endeavoured to enforce the former flatutes enacted for that purpose. The commons petitioned, that no foreigner should be capable of any church preferment, and that the patron might be allowed to present anew upon the non-residence of any incumbent ": But the king eluded these petitions. Pope Martin wrote him a severe letter against the statute of provifors; which he calls an abominable law, that would infallibly damn every one who observed it ". The cardinal of Winchester was legate; and as he was allo a kind of prime minister, and immensely rich from the profits of his clerical dignitics, the parliament became jealous lest he should extend the papal power; and they protested, that the cardinal should absent himself in all assairs and councils

¹ Statutes at Large, 39 Henry VI. cap. 14 k Cotton, p 6/4. n Burnet's Collection of Records, vel.i. m Cotton, p. 525. P. 22.

of the king, whenever the pope or see of Rome was CHAP. touched upon °.

PERMISSION was given by parliament to export corn when it was at low prices; wheat at fix shillings and eight pence a quarter, money of that age; barley at three shillings and four pence. It appears from these prices, that corn still remained at near half its present value; though other commodities were much cheaper. The inland commerce of corn was also opened in the eighteenth of the king, by allowing any collector of the customs to grant a licence for carrying it from one county to another q. The same year a kind of navigation act was proposed with regard to all places within the Streights; but the king rejected it.

THE first instance of debt contracted upon parliamentary security occurs in this reign. The commencement of this pernicious practice deserves to be noted; a practice the more likely to become pernicious, the more a nation advances in opulence and credit. The ruinous essects of it are now become but too apparent, and threaten the very existence of the nation.

^o Cotton, p. 593.

P Statutes at Large, 15 Henry VI cap. 26

Q Cotton, p. 625.

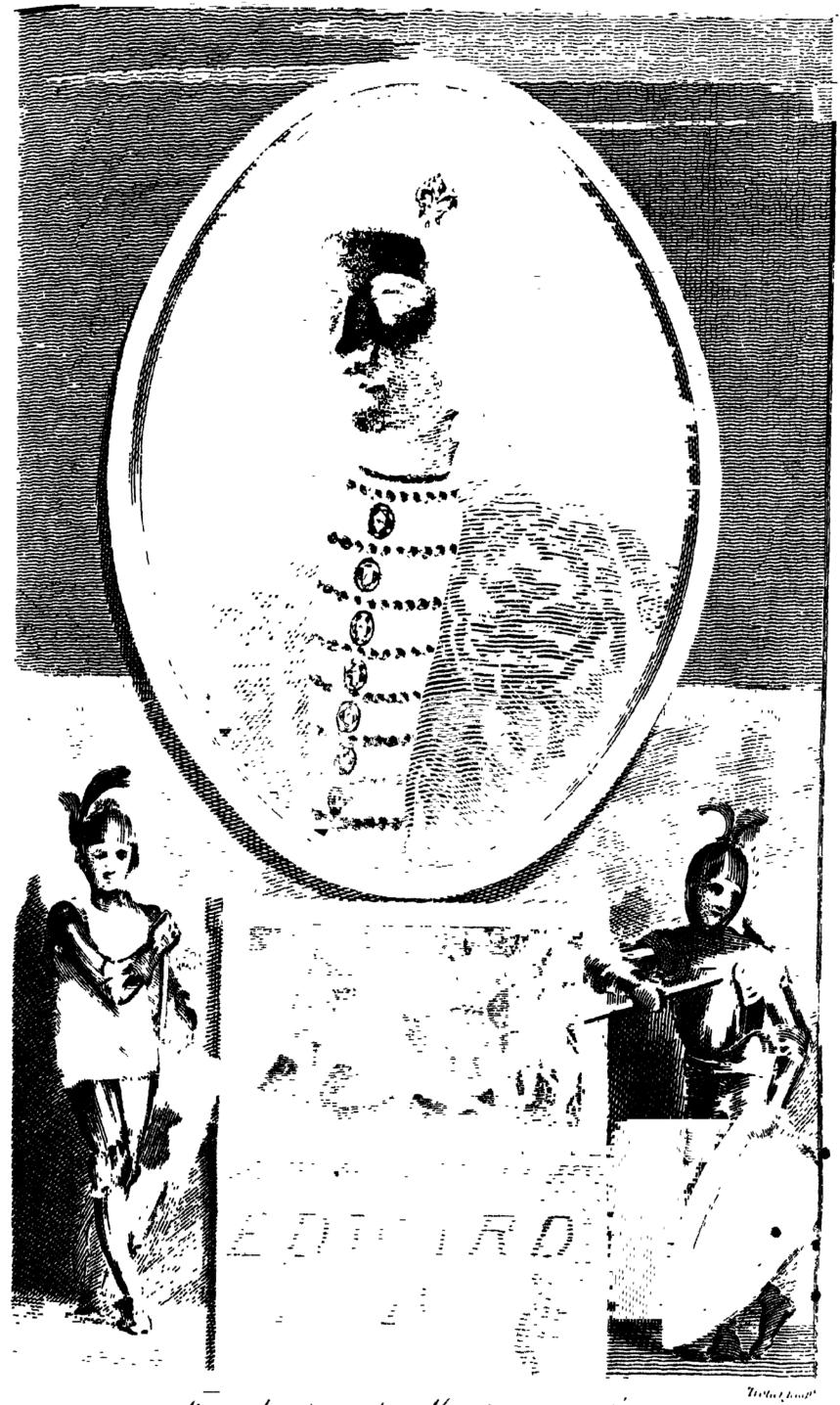
Ibid. p. 593. 634. 638.

CHAP. XXII.

E D W A R D IV.

Battle of Touton—Henry escapes into Scotland— A parliament—Battle of Hexbam—IIenry taken prisoner, and confined in the Tower-King's marriage with the Lady Elizabeth Gray --- Warreic diffrusted --- Alliance with Burgundy --- Infurrection in Varificire-Battle of Banbury——Wartels and Clarence bonished——Warwie and Charence return—Edward W. expelled ——Henry VI. restored——Edward IV. returns -Battle of Barnet, and death of Warroic-Battle of Toukesbury, and murder of prince Edward—Death of Henry VI.—Investion of of Pecaus -Trial and execution of the duke of Clarence- Death and chawef Edward IV.

CHAP. OUNG Edward, now in his twentieth year, was of a temper well fitted to make his way through such a scene of war, havoc, and devastation, as must conduct him to the full possession of that crown, which he claime from hereditary right, but which he had assumed for mothe tumultuary election alone of his own party. He was bold, active, enterprising; and his hardness of heart and severity of character rendered him impregnable to all those movements of compassion, which might relax his vigour in the profecution of the most bloody revenges upon his enemies. The very commencement of his reign gave symptoms of his sanguinary disposition. A tradef-



From the Original in Mousington Palice

 $\lambda XII.$

1461.

A tradefinant of London, who kept shop at the sign c II A P. of the Crown, having faid that he would make his son heir to the Crown; this harmles, plententry was interpreted to be spoken in derition of halward's affuned title: and he was condemned and executed for the offince'. Such an act of tyraniv was a proper prelude to the events which endued. The fearfold, as well as the field, incoffeatly fireamed with the nebleft blood of Englan! Ipi't in the quarrel between the two contending families, whose animosity was now become implacable. The people, divided in their affections, took different lymbols of puty: The partifans of the house of Lancaster Ch to the red rose as their mark of distinction; thate of York were denominated from the white; and I'de civil was were thus known, over Europe, by i's name or the quarrel between the two roles.

im licence, in which queen Margaret had been changed to include her traps, infuled great terror and aversion into the city of London, and all the facthern parts of the kingdom; and as she there expedical an obvious retail oce, the had prudently rethed northwards among her own partifans. The same fornce, joined to the zeal of faction, soon brought great multitudes to her flandard; and the was the, in a few days, to affemble an army, fixty thouland frong, in Yorkthire. The king and the easi of Warwic haftened with an army of forty thouland men, to check her progress; and when they reached Pomiret they dispatched a body of troops, under the command of lord Fitzwalter, to secure the passage of Ferrybridge over the river Arre, which lay between them and the enemy. Fitzwalter took possession of the post assigned him; but was not able to maintain it against lord Clissord, who attacked him with superior numbers. The Yorkists were chased back with great slaughter; and lord

Habington in Kennet, p. 431. Grafton, p. 791.

XXII. 1461.

CHAP. Fitzwalter himself was slain in the action v. The earl of Warwic, dreading the consequences of this disaster, at a time when a decisive action was every hour expected, immediately ordered his horse to be brought him, which he stabbed before the whole army; and, kissing the hilt of his sword, swore that he was determined to share the fate of the meanest foldier w. And, to shew the greater security, a proclamation was at the same time issued, giving to every one full liberty to retire; but menacing the feverest punishment to those who should discover any fymptoms of cowardice in the ensuing battle *. Lord Falconberg was fent to recover the post which had been lost: He passed the river some miles above Ferrybridge, and, falling unexpectedly on lord Clifford, revenged the former difaster by the defeat of the party and the death of their leader ".

Battle of Touten, 20th of March.

Till hostile armies met at Touton; and a sierce and bloody battle enfued. While the Yorkists were advancing to the charge, there happened a great fall of fnow, which driving full in the faces of their encmies, blinded them; and this advantage was improved by a stratagem of lord Falconberg's. That nobleman ordered some infantry to advance before the line, and, after having fent a volley of flight arrows, as they were called, amidst the enemy, immediately to retire. The Lancastrians, imagining that they were gotten within reach of the opposite army, discharged all their arrows, which thus fell short of the Yorkists. After the quivers of the enemy were emptied, Edward advanced his line, and did execution with impunity on the difmayed Lancastrians: The bow, however, was soon laid aside, and the sword decided the combat, which ended in a total victory on the side of the Yorkists.

Hall, fol. 186. Hollingshed, p. 664. y Hift. * Hollingshed, p. 664. ² Hall, fol. 186.

u W. Wyrcester, p 489. w Habington, p. 432, Croyl, contin. p. 522.

Edward issued orders to give no quarter. The CIIAP. routed army was pursued to Tadcaster with great XXII. bloodshed and consusion; and above thirty-fix thoufand men are computed to have fallen in the battle and purfuit b: Among these were the earl of Westmoreland, and his brother, fir John Nevil, the earl of Northumberland, the lords Dacres and Welles, and fir Andrew Trollop . The earl of Devonshire, who was now engaged in Henry's party, was brought a prisoner to Edward; and was, soon after, beheaded by martial law at York. His head was fixed on a pole erected over a gate of that city; and the head of duke Richard, and that of the earl of Salisbury, were taken down, and buried with their bodies. Henry and Margaret had remained at York during the action; but learning the defeat of their army, and being fenfible that no place in England could now afford them shelter, they sled with great precipitation into Scotland. They were accompanied by the duke of Exeter, who, though he had married Edward's fister, had taken part with the Lancastrians, and by Henry duke of Somerset, who had commanded in the unfortunate battle of Touton, and who was the fon of that nobleman killed in the first battle of St. Albans.

Norwithstanding the great animofity which Henry prevailed between the kingdoms, Scotland had never escapes into Scotexcited itself with vigour, to take advantage, either land. of the wars which England carried on with France, or of the civil commotions which arose between the contending families. James I. more laudably employed, in civilizing his subjects, and taming them to the falutary voke of law and justice, avoided all hostilities with foreign nations; and though he seemed interested to maintain a balance between France

b Hollingshed, p. 665. Grafton, 3 Habington, p. 432. p. 656. Hift. Croyl. cont. p. 533. ^c Hall, fol. 187. Habington, p. 433.

XXII. 1461.

CHAP, and England, he gave no farther affiftance to the former kingdom in its greatest distresses, than permitting, and perhaps encouraging, his subjects to enlist in the French service. After the murder of that excellent prince, the minority of his fon and fuccessor, James II. and the distractions incident to it, retained the Scots in the same state of neutrality; and the superiority, visibly acquired by France, rendered it then unnecessary for her ally to interpose in her defence. But, when the quarrel commenced between the houses of York and Lancaster, and became absolutely incurable, but by the total extinction of one party; James, who had now rifen to man's estate, was tempted to seize the opportunity, and he endeavoured to recover those places which the English had formerly conquered from his ancestors. He laid flege to the caftle of Rossorrough in 1460, and had provided himfelf with a small train of artillery for that enterpile: But his cannon were to ill framed, that one of them built as he was firing it, and put an end to his life in the flower of his age. His fon and fuccessor, James III. was also a minor on his accellion: The ufual distractions enfaed in the government: The queen-dowager, Anne of Gueldres, aspired to the regency: The family of Douglas opposed her pretentions: And queen Margaret, when she sled into Scotland, found there a people little less divided by faction, than those by whom she had been expelled. Though she pleaded the connexions between the royal family of Scotland and the house of Lancaster, by the young king's grandmother, a daughter of the carl of Somerfet; fhe could engage the Scottish council to go no farther than to express their good wishes in her favour: But, on her offer to deliver to them immediately the important fortress of Berwie, and to contract her fon in marriage with a fifter of king James, flie found a better reception; and the Scots promifed

the

the affistance of their arms to reinstate her family C II A P. upon the throne d. But, as the danger from that quarter seconed not very urgent to Edward, he did not pursue the fugitive king and queen into their retreat; but returned to London, where a parliament was fummoned for fettling the government.

1461.

On the meeting of this affembly, Edward found 4th Nov. the good effects of his vigorous measure in assuming A parlia the crown, as well as of his victory at Touton, by which he had fecured it: The parliament no longer hesitated between the two families, or proposed any of those ambiguous decisions, which could only serve to perpetuate and inflame the animofities of party. They recognized the title of Edward, by hereditary defcent, through the family of Mortimer; and declared that he was king by right, from the death of his tather, who had also the same lawful title; and that leaves is possession of the crown from the day that he affairs is to go reminent, tendered to him by the accl made sof the people. They exproduct their aphogrence of the ulurpation and infrusion of the brade of Laucaster, particularly that of the earl of Parby, Atherwise called Henry IV. which, they field, bed been attended with every hinlef diff, ier, the murder of the fovereign and the opposition of the Subject. They annulied every gratubles had puted in those reigns; they reinthreal the blug in all the pottetions which had below at the crown at the pretended depolition of Figure 11. and though they confirmed judicial deal, and the decrees of inferior courts, they reverb ball attainders passed in any pretended publiament; particularly the attainder of the earl of Cambridge, the king's grandfather; as well as that of the earls of Salabury and Gloceller, and of lord Lumley, who had been forfeited for adhering to Richard II f.

d Hall, fol 137 Habington, p. 434. c Cotton, p. 670. f Cotton, p 672. Statutes at Large, 1 Edw. IV. cap. 1.

CHAP. 1461.

Many of these votes were the result of the usual violence of party: The common sense of mankind, in more peaceable times, repealed them: And the statutes of the house of Lancaster, being the deeds of an established government, and enacted by princes long possessed of authority, have always been held as valid and obligatory. The parliament, however, in subverting such deep foundations, had still the pretence of replacing the government on its ancient and natural basis: But, in their subsequent meafures, they were more guided by revenge, at least by the views of convenience, than by the maxims of equity and justice. They passed an act of forseiture and attainder against Henry VI. and queen Margaret, and their infant fon, prince Edward: The same act was extended to the dukes of Somerset. and Exeter; to the earls of Northumberland, Devonshire, Pembroke, Wilts; to the viscount Beaumont; the lords Roos, Nevil, Clifford, Wellcs, Dacre, Gray of Rugemont, Hungerford; to Alexander Hedie, Nicholas Latimer, Edmond Mountfort, John Heron, and many other persons of distinction s. The parliament vested the estates of all these attainted persons in the crown; though their fole crime was the adhering to a prince, whom every individual of the parliament had long recognised, and whom that very king himself, who was now feated on the throne, had acknowledged and obeyed as his lawful fovereign.

THE necessity of supporting the government established will more fully justify some other acts of violence; though the method of conducting them may still appear exceptionable. John earl of Oxford, and his fon Aubrey de Vere, were detected in a correspondence with Margaret, were tried by martial law before the constable, were condemned and executed h. Sir William Tyrrel, sir Thomas Tuden- CHAP. ham, and John Montgomery, were convicted in the same arbitary court, were executed, and their estates forfeited. This introduction of martial law into civil government was a high strain of prerogative; which, were it not for the violence of the times, would probably have appeared exceptionable to a nation fo jealous of their liberties as the English were now become. It was impossible but such a great and fudden revolution must leave the roots of discontent and dissatisfaction in the subject, which would require great art, or in lieu of it, great vioience, to extirpate them. The latter was more fuitabictothe genius of the nation in that uncultivated age.

1461.

Bur the new chablishment still seemed precarious and uncertain; not only from the domestic discontents of the people, but from the efforts of foreign powers. Lewis, the eleventh of the name, had fucceeded to his father Charles in 1460; and was led, from the obvious motives of national interest, to feed the flames of civil discord among such dangerous neighbours, by giving support to the weaker party. But the intriguing and politic genius of this prince was here checked by itself: Having attempted to subdue the independent spirit of his own vaffals, he had excited fuch an opposition at home, as prevented him from making all the advantage which the opportunity afforded, of the dissensions among the English. He sent, however, a small body to Henry's assistance under Varenne, seneschal of Normandy k; who landed in Northumberland, and got possession of the castle of Alnewic: But as the indefatigable Margaret went in person to France, where she solicited larger supplies and promised Lewis to deliver up Calais if her family should

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h W. de Wyrcester, p. 492. Hall, fol. 189. Grafton, p. 658. Fabian, fol. 215. Fragm. ad finem T. Sproti.

i See note [H] at the end of the volume.

k Monstrelet, vol. iii. p. 95.

CIIAP. XXII 14'4.

by his means be restored to the throne of England; he was induced to fend along with her a body of 2000 men at arms, which enabled her to take the

Battle of Hic hatas zsth May.

field, and to make an inroad into England. Though reinforced by a numerous train of adventurers from Scotland, and by many partifans of the family of 25thApril Lancaster; she received a check at Hedgley-more from lord Montacute, or Montague, brother to the earl of Warwic, and warden of the east marches between Scotland and England. Montague was fo encouraged with this success, that, while a numerous reinforcement was on their march to join him by orders from Edward, he yet ventured, with his own troops alone, to attack the Lancastrians at Hexham; and he obtained a complete victory over them. The duke of Somerfet, the lords Roos and Hungerford, were taken in the purfuit, and immediately beheaded by martial law at Hexham. Summary juftice was in like manner executed at Newcastle on fir Humphrey Nevil and feveral other gentlemen. All those who were spared in the field suffered on the scasseld; and the utter extermination of their adversaries was now become the plain object of the York party; a conduct which received but too plaufible an apology from the preceding practice of the Lancaltrians.

THE fate of the unfortunate royal family, after this defeat, was fingular. Margaret, flying with her fon into a forest, where she endeavoured to conceal herself, was beset, during the darkness of the night, by robbers, who, either ignorant or regardless of her quality, despoiled her of her rings and jewels, and treated her with the utmost indignity. The partition of this rich booty raised a quarrel among them; and while their attention was thus engaged, she took tive opportunity of making her escape with her son, into the thickest of the forest, where she wandered for some time, overspert with hunger and fatigue, and sunk with terror and assistion. While in this wretched

wretched condition, she saw a robber approach with CHAP. his naked fword; and finding that she had no means XXII. of escape, she suddenly embraced the resolution of trusting entirely for protection to his faith and generosity. She advanced towards him; and presenting to him the young prince, called out to him, Here, my friend, I commit to your care the safety of your king's son. The man, whose humanity and generous spirit had been obscured, not entirely lost, by his vicious course of life, was struck with the singularity of the event, was charmed with the confidence reposed in him; and vowed not only to abstain from all injury against the princess, but to devote himself entirely to her service. By his means she dwelt some time concealed in the forest, and was at last conducted to the sea-coast, whence she made her escape into Flanders. She passed thence into her father's court, where she lived several years in privacy and retirement. Her husband was not so fortunate or so dexterous in finding the means of escape. Some of his friends took him under their protection, and conveyed him into Lancashire; where he remained concealed during a twelvemonth; but he was at last detected, delivered up to Edward, and thrown into the Tower^m. The fafety of his person was owing less to the generosity of his enemies, than to the contempt which they had entertained of his courage and his understanding.

The imprisonment of Henry, the expulsion of Margaret, the execution and confiscation of all the most eminent Lancastrians, seemed to give full security to Edward's government; whose title by blood being now recognised by parliament, and universally submitted to by the people, was no longer in danger of being impeached by any antagonist. In this prosperous situation, the king deli-

v red

Monstrelet, vol. iii. p.95.
m Hall, fol. 191. Fragm. ad finem Sprotti.

CHAP, vered himself up, without control, to those pleafures which his youth, his high fortune, and his natural temper invited him to enjoy; and the cares of. royalty were less attended to, than the dissipation of amusement or the allurements of passion. cruel and unrelenting spirit of Edward, though enured to the ferocity of civil wars, was at the same time extremely devoted to the fofter passions, which, without mitigating his severe temper, maintained a great influence over him, and shared his attachment with the pursuits of ambition and the thirst of military glory. During the present interval of peace, he lived in the most familiar and sociable manner with his subjects, particularly with the Londoners; and the beauty of his person, as well as the gallantry of his address, which, even unaffisted by his royal dignity, would have rendered him acceptable to the fair, facilitated all his applications for their favour. This easy and pleasurable course of life augmented every day his popularity among all ranks of men: He was the peculiar favourite of the young and gay of both fexes. The disposition of the English, little addicted to jealousy, kept them from taking umbrage at these liberties: And his indulgence in amusements, while it gratisted his inclination, was thus become, without design, a means of supporting and securing his government. But as it is difficult to confine the ruling passion within strict rules of prudence, the amorous temper of Edward led him into a snare, which proved fatal to his repose, and to the stability of his throne.

King's marriage with the lady Elizabeth · Gray. /

JAQUELINE of Luxembourg, dutchess of Bedford, had, after her husband's death, so far sacrificed her ambition to love, that she espoused, in second marriage, fir Richard Woodeville, a private gentleman, to whom she bore several children; and among the rest, Elizabeth, who was remarkable for the grace and beauty of her person, as well as for CHAP. other amiable accomplishments. This young lady had married fir John Gray of Groby, by whom she had children; and her husband being slain in the second battle of St. Albans, fighting on the side of Lancaster, and his estate being for that reason confiscared, his widow retired to live with her father, at his feat of Grafton in Northamptonshire. The king came accidentally to the house after a hunting party, in order to pay a visit to the dutches of Bedford; and as the occasion seemed favourable for obtaining some grace from this gallant monarch, the young widow flung herfelf at his feet, and with many tears entreated him to take pity on her impoverished and distressed children. The fight of so much beauty in affliction strongly affected the amorous Edward; love stole insensibly into his heart under the guise of compassion; and her sorrow, so becoming a virtuous matron, made his esteem and regard quickly correspond to his affection. He raised her from the ground with affurances of favour; he found his passion increase every moment by the conversation of the amiable object; and he was foon reduced, in his turn, to the posture and style of a supplicant at the feet of Elizabeth. But the lady, either averse to dishonourable love from a sense of duty, or perceiving that the impression which she had made, was so deep as to give her hopes of obtaining the highest elevation, obstinately refused to gratify his passion; and all the endearments, caresses, and importunities of the young and amiable Edward, proved fruitless against her rigid and inflexible virtue. His passion, irritated by opposition, and increased by his veneration for such honourable sentiments, carried him at last beyond all bounds of reason; and he offered to share his throne, as well as his heart, with the woman, whose beauty of person and dignity of character seemed so well to entitle her to both. The marriage

1464.

CHAP. was privately celebrated at Grafton. The secret was carefully kept for some time: No one suspected, that so libertine a prince could facrifice so much to a romantic passion: And there were in particular strong reasons, which at that time rendered this step to the highest degree dangerous and imprudent.

THE king, desirous to secure his throne, as well by the prospect of issue, as by foreign alliances, had, a little before, determined to make application to fome neighbouring princess; and he had cast his eye on Bona of Savoy, fister of the queen of France, who, he hoped, would, by her marriage, enfure him the friendship of that power, which was alone both able and inclined to give support and assistance to his rival. To render the negociation more successful, the earl of Warwic had been dispatched to Paris, where the princess then resided; he had demanded Bona in marriage for the king; his proposals had been accepted; the treaty was fully concluded; and nothing remained but the ratification of the terms agreed on, and the bringing over the princess to England P. But when the secret of Edward's marriage broke out, the haughty earl, deeming himself affronted, both by being employed in this fruitless negociation, and by being kept a stranger to the king's intentions, who had owed every thing to his friendship, immediately returned to England, inflamed with rage and indignation. The influence of passion over so young a man as Edward might have served as an excuse for his imprudent conduct, had he deigned to acknowledge his error, or had pleaded his weakness as an apology: But his faulty shame or pride prevented him from so much as mentioning the matter to Warwic; and that nobleman was allowed to depart the court, full of the same ill-humour and discontent which he brought to it.

Warwic difguffed.

P Hall, fol. 193. o Hall, fol. 193. Fabian, fol. 216. Polyd. Habington, p. 437. Grafton, p. 665 Hollingshed, p. 667. ` Virg. p. 513. EVERY

Every incident now tended to widen the breach CHAP. between the king and this powerful subject. The XXII. queen, who lost not her influence by marriage, was equally folicitous to draw every grace and favour to her own friends and kindred, and to exclude those of the earl, whom she regarded as her mortal enemy. Her father was created earl of Rivers: He was made treasurer in the room of lord Mountjoy 9: He was invested in the office of constable for life; and his fon received the furvivance of that high dignity. The same young nobleman was married to the only daughter of lord Scales, enjoyed the great estate of that family, and had the title of Scales conferred upon him. Catharine, the queen's sister, was married to the young duke of Buckingham, who was a ward of the crown': Mary, another of her fifters, elpoused William Herbert, created earl of Huntingdon: Ann, a third fister, was given in marriage to the son and heir of Gray lord Ruthyn, created earl of Kent'. The daughter and heir of the duke of Exeter, who was also the king's niece, was contracted to sir Thomas, Gray, one of the queen's sons by her former husband; and as lord Montague was treating of a marriage between his fon and this lady, the preference given to young Gray was deemed an injury and affront to the whole family of Nevil.

THE earl of Warwic could not suffer with patience the least diminution of that credit which he had long enjoyed, and which he thought he had merited by fuch important services. Though he had received so many grants from the crown, that the revenue arising from them amounted, besides his patrimonial estate, to 80,000 crowns a-year, according to the computation of Philip de Comines "; his ambitious spirit was still distatisfied, so

⁹ W. Wyrcester, p 506.

r Rymer, vol. xi. p. 581.

⁸ W. Wyrcester, p. 505.

^{*} Ibid. p. 506.

u Liv. iii. chap. 4.

CHAP. long as he saw others surpass him in authority and influence with the king w. Edward also, jealous of influence with the king w. Edward also, jealous of that power which had supported him, and which he himself had contributed still higher to evalt, was well pleased to raise up rivals in credit to the earl of Warwic; and he justified, by this political view, his extreme partiality to the queen's kindred. But the nobility of England, envying the sudden growth of the Woodevilles *, were more inclined to take part with Warwic's discontent, to whose grandeur they were already accustomed, and who had reconciled them to his superiority by his gracious and popular manners. And as Edward obtained from parliament a general resumption of all grants which he had made fince his accession, and which had extremely impoverished the crown, this act, though it passed with some exceptions, particularly one in favour of the earl of Warwic, gave a general alarm to the nobility, and disgusted many, even zealous partisans of the family of York.

But the most considerable associate that Warwic acquired to his party, was George duke of Clarence, the king's second brother. This prince deemed himself no less injured than the other grandees, by the uncontrolled influence of the queen and her relations; and as his fortunes were still left on a precarious footing, while theirs were fully established this neglect, joined to his unquiet and rest-less spirit, inclined him to give countenance to all the malcontents. The favourable opportunity of gaining him was espied by the earl of Warwic, who offered him in marriage his elder daughter, and co-heir of his immense fortunes; a settlement which, as it was superior to any that the king himself could confer upon him, immediately attached him to the party of the earl. Thus an extensive

^{*} Hift. Croyl. cont. p. 539. W Polyd. Virg. p. 514.

y W. Wyrcester, p. 508. ² Grafton, p. 673

W. Wyrcester, p. 511. Hall, fol. 200. Habington, p. 459. Hollingshed, p. 671. Polyd. Virg. p. 515. and

and dangerous combination was insensibly formed CHAP. against Edward and his ministry. Though the immediate object of the malcontents was not to overturn the throne, it was difficult to foresee the extremities to which they might be carried: And as opposition to government was usually in those ages profecuted by force of arms, civil convulsions and diforders were likely to be foon the refult of these intrigues and confederacies.

1466.

WHILE this cloud was gathering at home, Ed. Alliance ward carried his views abroad, and endeavoured to duke of secure himself against his factious nobility by enter- Burgun-

ing into foreign alliances. The dark and dan-gerous ambition of Lewis XI. the more it was known, the greater alarm it excited among his neighbours and vassals; and as it was supported by great abilities, and unrestrained by any principle of faith or humanity, they found no security to themselves but by a jealous combination against him. Philip duke of Burgundy was now dead: His rich and extensive dominions were devolved to Charles his only son, whose martial disposition acquired him the sirname of Bold, and whose ambition, more outrageous than that of Lewis, but seconded by less power and policy, was regarded with a more favourable eye by the other potentates of Europe. The opposition of interests, and still more, a natural antipathy of character, produced a declared animofity between these bad princes; and Edward was thus secure of the sincere attachment of either of them, for whom he should chuse to declare himself. The duke of Burgundy being descended by his mother, a daughter of Portugal, from John of Gaunt, was naturally inclined to favour the house of Lancaster b: But this consideration was easily overbalanced by political motives; and Charles, perceiving the interests of that house to be extremely

b Comines, liv. iii. chap. 4.6.

XXII.

I4**6**6.

\$468.

CHAP. decayed in England, sent over his natural brother, commoniv called the Bastard of Burgundy, to carry in his name proposals of marriage to Margaret the king's sister. The alliance of Burgundy was more popular among the English than that of France; the commercial interests of the two nations invited the princes to a close union; their common jealousy of Lewis was a natural cement between them; and Edward, pleased with strengthening himself by so potent a confederate, soon concluded the alliance, and bestowed his fister upon Charles. A league which Edward at the same time concluded with the duke of Britanny, seemed both to increase his security, and to him the prospect of rivaling his predecement in those foreign conquests, which, however short-lived and unprofitable, had rendered their reigns fo popular and illustrious d.

X469.

BUT wantever ambitious schemes the king might have built on these alliances, they were soon frustrated by intestine commotions, which engrossed all his attention. These disorders probably arose not immediately from the intrigues of the earl of Warwic, but from accident, aided by the turbulent spirit of the age, by the general humour of discontent which that popular nobleman had instilled into the nation, and perhaps by some remains of attachment to the house of Lancaster. The hospital of St. Leonard's near York had received, from an ancient grant of king Athelstane, a right of levying a thrave of corn upon every plough-land in the county; and as these charitable establishments are liable to abuse, the country people complained that the revenue of the hospital was no longer expended for the relief of the poor, but was secreted by the managers, and employed to their private purposes. After long repining at the contribution, they refused payment. Ecclesiastical and civil censures

Infurrection in Porkshire.

^e Hall, fol 169 197.

W. Wyrcester, p. 5. Parliament. Hist. vol. ii. p. 332

issued against them: Their goods were distrained, CHAP. and their persons thrown into jail: Till, as their illhumour daily increased, they rose in arms; fell upon the officers of the hospital, whom they put to the fword; and proceeded in a body, fifteen thoufand strong to the gates of York. Lord Montague, who commanded in those parts, opposed himself to their progress; and having been so fortunate in a skirmish as to seize Robert Hulderne their leader, he ordered him immediately to be led to execution; according to the practice of the times. The rebels, however, still continued in arms; and being foon headed by men of greater distinction, sir Henry Nevil fon of lord Latimer, and fir John Coniers, they advanced fouthwards, and began to appear formidable to government. Herbert earl of Pembroke, who had received that title on the forfeiture of Jasper Tudor, was ordered by Edward to march against them at the head of a body of Welshmen; and he was joined by five thousand archers under the command of Stafford earl of Devonshire, who had succeeded in that title to the family of Courtney, which had also been attainted. But a trivial difference about quarters having begotten an animofity between these two noblemen, the earl of Devonshire retired with his archers, and left Pembroke alone to encounter the rebels. The two armies approached Battle of each other near Banbury; and Pembroke, having Banbury. prevailed in a skirmish, and having taken sir Henry Nevil prisoner, ordered him immediately to be put to death, without any form of process. This execution enraged without terrifying the rebels: They attacked the Welsh army, routed them, put them 26th July, to the fword without mercy; and having feized Pembroke, they took immediate revenge upon him for the death of their leader. The king, imputing this misfortune to the earl of Devonshire, who had deserted Pembroke, ordered him to be executed in a like summary manner. But these speedy executions,

1469.

CHAP tions, or rather open murders, did not stop there: The northern rebels, sending a party to Grafton, feized the earl of Rivers and his fon John; men who had become obnoxious by their near relation to the king, and his partiality towards them: And they were immediately executed by orders from fir John Coniers *.

THERE is no part of English history since the Conquest so obscure, so uncertain, so little authentic, or confistent, as that of the wars between the two Roses: Historians differ about many material circumstances; some events of the utmost consequence, in which they almost all agree, are incredible and contradicted by records '; and it is remarkable, that this profound darkness falls upon us just on the eve of the restoration of letters, and when the art of printing was already known in Europe. All we can distinguish with certainty through the deep cloud which covers that period, is a scene of horror and bloodshed, savage manners, arbitrary executions, and treacherous, dishonourable conduct in all parties. There is no possibility, for instance, of accounting for the views and intentions of the earl of Warwic at this time. It is agreed that he resided, together with his son-in-law the duke of Clarence, in his government of Calais, during the commencement of this rebellion; and that his brother Montague acted with vigour against the northern rebels. We may thence presume, that the insurrection had not proceeded from the secret counsels and instigation of Warwic; though the murder committed by the rebels on the earl of Rivers, his capital enemy, forms, on the other hand, a violent presumption against him. He and Clarence came over to England, offered their service to Edward, were received without any suspicion, were entrusted by him in the highest commands, and still persevered in their

fidelity.

Fabian, fol. 217. See note [I] at the end of the volume.

⁸ Rymer, vol. xi. p. 647. 649, 650.

fidelity. Soon after, we find the rebels quieted and CHAP. dispersed by a general pardon granted by Edward XXII. from the advice of the earl of Warwic: But why so courageous a prince, if secure of Warwic's sidelity, should have granted a general pardon to men who had been guilty of fuch violent and personal outrages against him, is not intelligible; nor why that nobleman, if unfaithful, should have endeavoured to appeale a rebellion, of which he was able to make fuch advantages. But it appears that, after this insurrection, there was an interval of peace, during which the king loaded the family of Nevil with honours and favours of the highest nature: He made lord Montague a marquis by the same name: He created his son George duke of Bedtord h: He publicly declared his intention of marrying that young nobleman to his eldest daughter Élizabeth, who, as he had yet no fons, was presumptive heir of the crown: Yet we find that soon after, being invited to a feast by the archbishop of York, a younger brother of Warwic and Montague, he entertained a sudden suspicion that they intended to seize his person or to murder him: And he abruptly left the entertainment i.

Soon after, there broke out another rebellion, which is as unaccountable as all the preceding events; chiefly because no sufficient reason is assigned for it, and because, so tar as it appears, the family of Nevil had no hand in exciting and fomenting it. It arose in Lincolnshire, and was headed by sir Robert Welles, son to the lord of that name. The army of the rebels amounted to 30,000 men; but lord Welles himself, far from giving countenance to them, fled into a sanctuary, in order to secure his person against the king's anger or suspicions. He was allured from this retreat by a promise of safety;

1470.

h Cotton, p. 702.

i Fragm. Ed. IV. ad fin. Sprotti.

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CHAP, and was foon after, notwithstanding this affurance, beheaded along with fir Thomas Dymoc, by orders from Edward k. The king fought a battle with 13th Mar. the rebels, defeated them, took sir Robert Welles and fir Thomas Launde prisoners, and ordered them immediately to be beheaded.

> EDWARD, during these transactions, had entertained so little jealousy of the earl of Warwic or duke of Clarence, that he sent them with commisfions of array to levy forces against the rebels 1: But these malcontents, as soon as they left the court, raised troops in their own name, issued declarations against the government, and complained of grievances, oppressions, and bad ministers. The unexpected defeat of Welles disconcerted all their measures; and they retired northwards into Lancashire, where they expected to be joined by lord Stanley, who had married the earl of Warwic's fister. But as that nobleman refused all concurrence with them, and as lord Montague also remained quiet in Yorkshire; they were obliged to disband their army, and to fly into Devonshire, where they embarked and made fail towards Calais m.

Warwic and Clarence banished.

> THE deputy-governor, whom Warwic had left at Calais, was one Vaucler, a Gascon, who seeing the earl return in this miserable condition, refused him admittance; and would not so much as permit the duchess of Clarence to land; though a few days before she had been delivered on ship-board of a fon, and was at that time extremely disordered by With difficulty he would allow a few flaggons of wine to be carried to the ship for the

> k Hall, fol. 204. Fabian, fol. 218. Habington, p. 442. Hol-1 Rymer, vol. xi p. 652. lingshed, p. 674.

ule

m The king offered by proclamation a reward of 1000 pounds, or soo pounds a year in land, to any that would seize them. Whence we may learn that land was at that time fold for about ten years purchase. See Rymer, vol. xi. p. 654.

use of the ladies: But as he was a man of sagacity, C II A P. and well acquainted with the revolutions to which England was subject, he secretly apologised to Warwic for this appearance of infidelity, and represented it as proceeding entirely from zeal for his service. He faid, that the fortress was ill supplied with provisions; that he could not depend on the attachment of the garrison; that the inhabitants, who lived by the English commerce, would certainly declare for the established government; that the place was at present unable to resist the power of England on the one hand, and that of the duke of Burgundy on the other; and that, by feeming to declare for Edward, he would acquire the confidence of that prince, and still keep it in his power, when it should become fafe and prudent, to restore Calais to its ancient masser". It is uncertain whether Warwic was fatisfied with this apology, or suspected a double infidelity in Vaucler; but he feigned to be entirely convinced by him; and having seized some Flemish vessels which he found lying off Calais, he immediately made fail towards France.

THE king of France, uneafy at the close conjunction between Edward and the duke of Burgundy, received with the greatest demonstrations of regard the unfortunate Warwic, with whom he had formerly maintained a fecret correspondence, and whom he hoped still to make his instrument in overturning the government of England, and reestablishing the house of Lancaster. No animosity was ever greater than that which had long prevailed between that house and the earl of Warwic. His tather had been executed by orders from Margaret: He himself had twice reduced Henry to captivity, had banished the queen, had put to death all their

n Comines, liv. iii chap. 4. Hall, fol. 205.

[·] Polyd, Virg. p. 519.

CHAP. most zealous partisans either in the field or on the scaffold, and had occasioned innumerable ills to that unhappy family. For this reason, believing that fuch inveterate rancour could never admit of any cordial reconciliation, he had not mentioned Henry's name, when he took arms against Edward; and he rather endeavoured to prevail by means of his own adherents, than revive a party which he fincerely hated. But his present distresses and the entreaties of Lewis made him hearken to terms of accommodation; and Margaret being sent for from Angers, where she then resided, an agreement was from common interest soon concluded between them. It was stipulated, that Warwic should espouse the cause of Henry, and endeavour to restore him to liberty, and to re-establish him on the throne; that the administration of the government, during the minority of young Edward, Henry's son, should be entrusted conjointly to the earl of Warwic and the duke of Clarence; that prince Edward should marry the lady Anne, second daughter of that nobleman; and that the crown, in case of the failure of male issue in that prince, should descend to the duke of Clarence, to the entire exclusion of king Edward and his posterity. Never was confederacy, on all sides, less natural, or more evidently the work of necessity: But Warwic hoped, that all former passions of the Lancastrians might be lost in present political views; and that at worst, the independent power of his family, and the affections of the people, would fuffice to give him fecurity, and enable him to exact the full performance of all the conditions agreed on. The marriage of prince Edward with the lady Anne was immediately celebrated in France.

> EDWARD foresaw that it would be easy to dissolve an alliance composed of such discordant parts. For this purpose he sent over a lady of great sagacity and address,

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address, who belonged to the train of the duchess C HAP. of Clarence, and who, under colour of attending her mistress, was empowered to negotiate with the duke, and to renew the connexions of that prince with his own family p. She represented to Clarence, that he had unwarily, to his own ruin, become the instrument of Warwic's vengeance, and had thrown himself intirely in the power of his most inveterate enemies; that the mortal injuries which the one roval family had fuffered from the other, were now past all forgiveness, and no imaginary union of interests could ever suffice to obliterate them; that even if the leaders were willing to forget past offences, the animosity of their adherents wouldprevent a fincere coalition of parties, and would, in spite of all temporary and verbal agreements, preserve an eternal opposition of measures between them; and that a prince who deserted his own kindred, and joined the murderers of his father, left himself single, without friends, without protection, and would not, when misfortunes inevitably fell upon him, be so much as entitled to any pity or regard from the rest of mankind. Clarence was only one and twenty years of age, and feems to have possessed but a slender capacity; yet could he easily see the force of these reasons; and upon the promise of forgiveness from his brother, he secretly engaged, on a favourable opportunity, to defert the earl of Warwic, and abandon the Lancastrian party.

During this negotiation, Warwic was fecretly carrying on a correspondence of the same nature with his brother the marquis of Montague, who was entirely trusted by Edward; and like motives produced a like resolution in that nobleman. The marquis also, that he might render the projected blow the more deadly and incurable, resolved, on

p Comines, liv. iii. chap. 5. Hall, fol. 207. Hollingshed, p 679.

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CHAP. his side, to watch a favourable opportunity for committing bis perfidy, and still to maintain the appearance of being a zealous adherent to the house of York.

> AFTER these mutual snares were thus carefully laid, the decision of the quarrel advanced apace. Lewis prepared a flect to escort the earl of Warwic, and granted him a supply of men and money. The duke of Burgundy, on the other hand, enraged at that nobleman for his seizure of the Fle. mish vessels before Calais, and anxious to support the reigning family in England, with whom his own interests were now connected, sitted out a larger fleet, with which he guarded the Channel; and he incessantly warned his brother-in-law of the imminent perils to which he was exposed. Br: Edward, though always brave and often active, had little foresight or penetration. He was not sensible of his danger: He made no suitable preparations against the earl of Warwic': He even said, that the duke might spare himself the trouble of guarding the seas, and that he wished for nothing more than to see Warwic set soot on English ground's A vain confidence in his own prowess, joined to the immoderate love of pleasure, had made him incapable of all found reason and reflection.

September. Warwic. and Clarence retern.

THE event foon happened, of which Edward seemed so desirous. A storm dispersed the Flemish navy, and left the sea open to Warwic t. That nobleman seized the opportunity, and setting sail, quickly landed at Dartmouth, with the duke of Clarence, the earls of Oxford and Pembroke, and a small body of troops; while the king was in the north, engaged in suppressing an insurrection which had been raised by lord Fitz-Hugh, brother-in-law

r Grafton, Comines, liv. iii. chap. 4. Hall, fol. 207. Hall, fol. 208. ⁵ Comines, liv. iil. chap. 5.

^{*} Cominer, liv. iii. chap. 5.

14;0.

Warwic. The scene which ensues resembles more CHAP. the siction of a poem or romance than an event in true history. The prodigious popularity of Warwic ", the zeal of the Lancastrian party, the spirit of discontent with which many were infected, and the general instability of the English nation, occasioned by the late frequent revolutions, drew such multitudes to his standard, that in a very few days his army amounted to fixty thousand men, and was continually increasing. Edward hastened southwards to encounter him; and the two armies approached each other near Nottingham, where a decisive action was every hour expected. The rapidity of Warwic's progress had incapacitated the duke of Clarence from executing bis plan of treachery; and the marquis of Montague had here the opportunity of striking the first blow. He communicated the design to his adherents, who promised him their concurrence: They took to arms in the night-time, and hastened with loud acclamations to Edward's quarters: The king was alarmed at the noise, and starting from bed, heard the cry of war usually employed by the Lancastrian party. Lord Hastings, his chamberlain, informed him of the danger, and urged him to make his escape by speedy slight from an army where he had so many concealed enemies, and where few seemed zealously attached to his service. He had just time to get on horseback, and to hurry with a finall retinue to Lynne in Norfolk, where he luckily found some ships ready, on board of which he initantly embarked w. And after this manner the earl Edw. IV. of Warwic, in no longer space than eleven days expelled. alter his first landing, was left entire master of the kingdom.

Bur Edward's danger did not end with his embarkation. The Easterlings or Hanse-Towns were

u Hall, fol. 205.

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then

w Comines, liv. iii. chap. 5. Hall, fol. 208.

XXII. 1470.

CHAP. then at war both with France and England; and some ships of these people, hovering on the English coast, espied the king's vessels, and gave chase to them; nor was it without extreme difficulty that he made his escape into the port of Alcmaer in Holland. He had fled from England with fuch precipitation, that he had carried nothing of value along with him, and the only reward which he could bestow on the captain of the veffel that brought him over, was a robe lined with fables; promising him an ample recompence if fortune should ever become more propitious to him *.

> It is not likely that Edward could be very fond of prefenting himself in this lamentable plight before the duke of Burgundy; and that having fo fuddenly, after his mighty vaunts, lost all footing in his own kingdom, he could be insensible to the ridicule which must attend him in the eyes of that prince. The duke on his part was no less embarrassed how he should receive the dethroned monarch. As he had ever borne a greater affection to the house of Lancaster than to that of York, nothing but political views had engaged him to contract an alliance with the latter; and he foresaw, that probably the revolution in England would now turn this alliance against him, and render the reigning family his implacable and jealous enemy. For this reason, when the first rumour of that event reached him, attended with the circumstance of Edward's death, he seemed rather pleased with the catastrophe; and it was no agreeable disappointment to find, that he must either undergo the burthen of supporting an exiled prince, or the dishonour of abandoning so near a relation. He began already to tay that his connexions were with the kingdom of England, not with the king; and it was indifferent to him whether the name of Edward, or that of

Henry, were employed in the articles of treaty. CHAP. These sentiments were continually strengthened by the subsequent events. Vaucler, the deputy gogernor of Calais, though he had been confirmed in his command by Edward, and had even received a pension from the duke of Burgundy on account of his fidelity to the crown, no sooner saw his old master Warwic reinstated in authority, than he declared for him, and with great demonstrations of zeal and attachment put the whole garrison in his livery. And the intelligence which the duke received every day from England, seemed to promile an entire and full settlement in the family of Lancaster.

IMMEDIATELY after Edward's flight had left the Henry VI. kingdom at Warwic's disposal, that nobleman icstored. hastened to London; and taking Henry from his confinement in the Tower, into which he himself had been the chief cause of throwing him, he proclaimed him king with great folemnity. A parliament was summoned, in the name of that prince, to meet at Weslminster; and as this assembly could pretend to no liberty, while furrounded by fuch enraged and insolent victors, governed by such an impetuous spirit as Warwic, their votes were entirely dictated by the ruling faction. The treaty with Margaret was here fully executed: Henry was recognised as lawful king; but his incapacity for government being avowed, the regency was entrusted to Warwic and Clarence till the majority of prince Edward; and in default of that prince's issue, Clarence was declared successor to the crown. The usual business also of reversals went on without opposition: Every flatute made during the reign of Edward was repealed; that prince was declared to be an usurper; he and his adherents were attainted; and in particular Richard duke of Glocester, his younger brother: All the attainders of the Lancastrians, the dukes of Somerset and Exeter, the earls of RichCHAP XXII.

1270.

mond, Pembroke, Oxford, and Ormond, were reversed; and every one was reflored who had lost either honours or fortune by his former adherence to the cause of Henry.

THE ruling party were more sparing in their exe. cutions than was usual after any revolutions during those violent times. The only victim of distinction was John Tibetot earl of Worcester. This accomplished person, born in an age and nation where the nobility valued themselves on ignorance as their privilege, and left learning to monks and schoolmasters, for whom indeed the spurious erudition that prevailed was best fitted, had been struck will the sir! rays of true science, which began to penetrate from the fouth, and had been zealous, by his exhortation and example, to propagate the love of letters among his unpolished countrymen. It is pretended, that knowledge had not produced on this nobleman him felf the effect which fo naturally attends it, of his manizing the temper and foftening the heart'; and that he had enraged the Lancastrians against him, by the feverities which he exercised upon them during the prevalence of his own party. He en deavoured to conceal himself after the flight of Edward; but was caught on the top of a tree in the forest of Weybridge, was conducted to London, tried before the earl of Oxford, condemned, and executed. All the other confiderable Yorkists either sted beyond fea, or took shelter in fanctuaries; where the ecclefiastical privileges afforded them protection. London alone, it is computed that no less than 2000 persons saved themselves in this manner?; and amorg the reft, Edward's queen, who was there delivered of a fon, called by his father's name '.

QULEN Margaret, the other rival queen, had not yet appeared in England; but on receiving intelli-

genec

⁷ Hall fol. 210. Stowe, p. 422. Z Cominer, I.v. in chap. "
4 Hall, fol. 210. Stowe, p. 423. Hollingshed, p 677. Gratton, p. 690.

gence of Warwic's success, was preparing with CHAP. prince Edward for her journey. All the banished XXII. Lancastrians slocked to her; and among the rest, the duke of Somerlet, son of the duke beheaded after the battle of Hexham. This nobleman, who had long been regarded as the head of the party, had fled into the Low Countries on the discomsiture of his triends; and as he concealed his name and quality, he had there languished in extreme indigence. Philip de Comines tells us b, that he himtelf saw him, as well as the duke of Exeter, in a condition no better than that of a common beggar; till being discovered by Philip duke of Burgundy, they had small penfions allotted them, and were living in filence and obscurity, when the success of their party called them from their retreat. But both Somerset and Margaret were detained by contrary winds from reaching England', till a new revolution in that kingdom, no less sudden and surprising than the former, threw them into greater misery than that from which they had just emerged.

Though the duke of Burgundy, by neglecting Edward, and paying court to the established government, had endeavoured to conciliate the friendship of the Lancastrians, he found that he had not succeeded to his wish; and the connexions between the king of France and the earl of Warwic still held him in great anxiety. This nobleman, too hastily regarding Charles as a determined enemy, had fent over to Calais a body of 4000 men, who made inroads into the Low Countries; and the duke of Burgundy faw himself in danger of being overwhelmed by the united arms of England and of France. He resolved therefore to grant some affistance to his brother-in-law; but in fuch a covert manner as should give the least offence possible to

b Liv. iii. chap 4.

Grafton, p. 692. Polyd. Vug. p. 522.

e Hall, fol. 205. c Comines, liv. 111. chap. 6.

XXII. 1471.

С н A P. the English government. He equipped four large vessels, in the name of some private merchants, at Terveer in Zeland; and causing fourteen ships to be secretly hired from the Easterlings, he delivered this small squadron to Edward, who, receiving also a sum of money from the duke, immediately set sail for England. No sooner was Charles informed of his departure, than he issued a proclamation inhibiting all his subjects from giving him countenance or affistance; an artifice which could not deceive the earl of Warwic, but which might serve as a decent pretence, if that nobleman were so difposed, for maintaining friendship with the duke of Burgundy.

Low. IV. rcturns

EDWARD, impatient to take revenge on his enemies, and to recover his lost authority, made an attempt to land with his forces, which exceeded not 2000 men, on the coast of Norfolk; but being there repulsed, he failed northwards, and disem-March 25. barked at Ravenspur in Yorkshire. Finding that the new magistrates, who had been appointed by the earl of Warwic, kept the people every where from joining him, he pretended, and even made oath, that he came not to challenge the crown, but only the inheritance of the house of York, which of right belonged to him; and that he did not intend to disturb the peace of the kingdom. His partisans every moment flocked to his standard: He was admitted into the city of York: And he was soon in fuch a situation as gave him hopes of succeeding in all his claims and pretentions. The marquis of Montague commanded in the northern counties; but from some mysterious reasons which, as well as many other important transactions in that age, no historian has cleared up, he totally neglected the beginnings of an insurrection which he ought to have esteemed so formidable. Warwic assembled

an army at Leicester, with an intention of meeting CHAP. and of giving battle to the enemy; but Edward, by taking another road, passed him unmolested, and presented himself before the gates of London. Had he here been refused admittance, he was totally undone: But there were many reasons which inclined the citizens to favour him. His numerous friends, issuing from their sanctuaries, were active in his cause; many rich merchants, who had formerly lent him money, faw no other chance for their payment but his restoration; the city-dames, who had been liberal of their favours to him, and who still retained an affection for this young and gallant prince, swayed their husbands and friends in his favoure; and above all the archbishop of York, Warwic's brother, to whom the care of the city was committed, had fecretly, from unknown reasons, entered into a correspondence with him; and he fa- April 12. cilitated Edward's admission into London. most likely cause which can be assigned for those multiplied infidelities, even in the family of Nevil itself, is the spirit of faction, which, when it becomes inveterate, it is very difficult for any man entirely to shake off. The persons who had long distinguished themselves in the York party, were unable to act with zeal and cordiality for the support of the Lancastrians; and they were inclined, by any prospect of favour or accommodation offered them by Edward, to return to their ancient connexions. However this may be, Edward's entrance into London made him master not only of that rich and powerful city, but also of the person of Henry, who, destined to be the perpetual sport of fortune, thus fell again into the hands of his enemies h. IT appears not that Warwic, during his short ad-

ministration, which had continued only fix months,

E Comines, liv. iii. chap. 7. h Grafton, p. 702.

XXII.

1471.

C H A P. had been guilty of any unpopular act, or had any wife deserved to lose that general favour with which he had so lately overwhelmed Edward. But this prince, who was formerly on the defensive, was now the aggressor; and having overcome the difficulties which always attend the beginnings of an infurrection, possessed many advantages above his enemy: His partifans were actuated by that zeal and courage which the notion of an attack inspires; his opponents were intimidated for a like reason; every one who had been disappointed in the hopes which he had entertained from Warvic's clevation, either became a cool friend or an open enemy to that nobleman; and each malcontent, from whatever cause, proved an accession to I dward's army. The king, therefore, found himself in a condition to face the earl of Warwic; who being reinforced by his fonin-law the duke of Clarence, and his brother the marquis of Montague, took post at Barnet, in the neighbourhood of London. The arrival of queen Margaret was every day expected, who would have drawn together all the genuine Lancastrians, and have brought a great accession to Warwic's forces: But this very confideration proved a motive to the earl rather to hurry on a decisive action, than to share the victory with rivals and ancient enemies, who he foresaw would, in case of success, claim the chief merit in the enterprise. But while his jealoufy was all directed towards that fide, he overlooked the dangerous infidelity of friends, who lay the nearest to his boson. His brother Montague, who had lately temporited, feems now to have remained fincerely attached to the interests of his family: But his fon-in-law, though bound to him by every tie of honour and gratitude, though he shared the power of the regency, though he had been invested by Warwic in all the honours and patrimony of the house of York, resolved to fulfil the CHAP. fecret engagements which he had formerly taken with his brother, and to support the interests of his own family: He deserted to the king in the nighttime, and carried over a body of 12,000 men along with him k. Warwic was now too far advanced to retreat; and as he rejected with distain all terms of peace offered him by Edward and Clarence, he was obliged to hazard a general engagement. The April 14 battle was fought with obstinacy on both sides: The Barnet, two armies, in imitation of their leaders, displayed uncommon valour: And the victory remained long of wic. undecided between them. But an accident threw the balance to the fide of the Yorkists. Edward's cognisance was a sun; that of Warwic a star with rays; and the missiness of the morning rendering it difficult to distinguish them, the carl of Oxford, who fought on the fide of the Lancastrians, was by miftake attacked by his friends, and chased off the field of battle. Warwic, contrary to his more usual practice, engaged that day on foot, resolving to show his army that he meant to share every fortune with them; and he was slain in the thickest of the engagement ": His brother underwent the same late: And as Edward had issued orders not to give any quarter, a great and undistinguished slaughter was made in the pursuit. There sell about 1500 on the fide of the victors.

XXII. 1471

Battle of and death of Waj-

THE same day on which this decisive battle was fought", queen Margaret and her son, now about eighteen years of age, and a young prince of great hopes, landed at Weymouth, supported by a small body of French forces. When this princess received intelligence of her husband's captivity, and of the defeat and death of the earl of Warwic, her courage, which had supported her under so many disas-

k Grafton, p. 700. Comines, liv. iii. chap. 7. Leland's Collect. m Comines, liv. iii. vol. ii. p. 505. Habington, p. 449. a hap. 7. A Hail, fel. 218. Leland's Collect. vol. ii. p. 505. trous XXII. 1471.

CHAP. trous events, here quite left her; and she immediately foresaw all the dismal consequences of this calamity. At first she took fanctuary in the abbey of Beaulieu p; but being encouraged by the appearance of Tudor earl of Pembroke, and Courtney earl of Devonshire, of the lords Wenloc and St. John, with other men of rank, who exhorted her still to hope for success, she resumed her former spirit, and determined to defend to the utmost the ruins of her fallen fortunes. She advanced through the councies of Devon, Somerset, and Glocester, increating her army on each day's march; but was at last overtaken by the rapid and expeditious Edward at Teukelbury, on the banks of the Severne. The Lancastr'ans were here totally defeated: The earl of Devonshire and lord Wenloc were killed in the field: The duke of Somerset, and about twenty other persons of distinction, having taken shelter in a church, were furrounded, dragged out, and imm diately beheaded: About 3000 of their side fell in battle: And the army was entirely dispersed.

Battle of Teukef bury. 4th May.

QUELN Margaret and her son were taken prisoners, and brought to the king, who asked the prince, after an infulting manner, how he dared to invade his dominions? The young prince, more mindful of his high birth than of his present fortune, replied, that he came thither to claim his just inheritance. The ungenerous Edward, insensible to pity, struck him on the face with his gauntlet; Murder of and the dukes of Clarence and Glocester, lord princ Ed- Hastings, and sir Thomas Gray, taking the blow as a fignal for farther violence, hurried the prince into the next apartment, and there dispatched him with their daggers 4. Margaret was thrown into the Tower: King Henry expired in that confinement a few days after the battle of Teukesbury; but whe-

ward.

P Hall, fol. 219. Habington, p. 451. Grafton, p. 706. Polyd. Virg p. 528. q Hall, fol. 221. Habington, p. 453. lingshed, p. 688. Polyd. Virg. p. 530.

ther

ther he died a natural or violent death is uncertain. CHAP. It is pretended, and was generally believed, that the duke of Glocester killed him with his own hands': But the universal odium which that prince has incurred, inclined perhaps the nation to aggravate his crimes without any fufficient authority. certain, however, that Henry's death was sudden; and though he laboured under an ill state of health, this circumstance, joined to the general manners of the age, gave a natural ground of suspicion; which was rather increased than diminished by the exposing of his body to public view. That precaution ferved only to recal many fimilar instances in the English hiltory, and to suggest the comparison.

1471. Death of Henry VI.

All the hopes of the house of Lancaster seemed now to be utterly extinguished. Every legitimate prince of that family was dead: Almost every great leader of the party had perished in battle or on the scaffold: The earl of Pembroke, who was levying forces in Wales, disbanded his army when he received intelligence of the battle of Teukesbury; and he fied into Britanny with his nephew, the young carl of Richmond's. The bastard of Falconberg, who had levied fome forces, and had advanced to London during Edward's absence, was repulsed; his men deserted him; he was taken prisoner, and immediately executed 1: And peace being now fully restored to the nation, a parliament was summoned, 6th Oct. which ratified, as usual, all the acts of the victor, and recognised his legal authority.

Bur this prince, who had been so sirm, and active, and intrepid, during the course of adversity, was still unable to resist the allurements of a profperous fortune; and he wholly devoted himself.

¹ Hollingshed, p. 689, 690. 693. P. 454. Polyd. Virg. p. 531. Hill. Croyl. cont. p. 554.

CHAP as before, to pleasure and amusement, after he became entirely master of his kingdom, and had no longer any enemy who could give him anxiety or alarm. He recovered, however, by this gay and inoffensive course of life, and by his easy familiar manners, that popularity which it is natural to imagine he had lost by the repeated cruelties exercifed upon his enemies; and the example also of his jovial fellivity for ed to abate the former acrimony of faction among his subjects, and to rethere the focial disposition which had been so long interrupted between the opposite parties. All men feemed to be fully satisfied with the present government; and the memory of past calamities served only to impress the people more strongly with a sense of their allegiance, and with the resolution of never incurring any more the hazard of renewing fuch direful fcenes.

1474.

Bur while the king was thus indulging himself in pleasure, he was roused from his lethargy by a prospect of foreign conquests, which it is probable his defire of popularity, more than the spirit of ambition, had made him' covet. Though he deemed himself little beholden to the duke of Burgundy for the reception which that prince had given him during his exile", the political interests of their states maintained still a close connexion between them; and they agreed to unite their arms in making a powerful invasion on France. A league was formed, in which Edward stipulated to pass the seas with an army exceeding 10,000 men, and to invade the French territories: Charles promised to join him with all his forces: The king was to challenge the crown of France, and to obtain at least the provinces of Normandy and Guienne: The duke was to acquire Champaigne and some other territories, and

[&]quot; Conduct, hy iii chap. y.

to free all his dominions from the burthen of ho- C HAP. mage to the crown of France: And neither party was XX.I. to make peace without the consent of the other w. They were the more encouraged to hope for fuccess from this league, as the count of St. Pol, constable of France, who was master of St. Quintin, and other towns on the Somme, had fecretly promiled to join them; and there were also hopes of engaging the duke of Britanny to enter into the contederacy.

THE prospect of a French war was always a sure means of making the parliament open their purses, as far as the habits of that age would permit. They voted the king a tenth of rents, or two shillings in the pound; which must have been very inaccurately levied, fince it produced only 31,460 pounds; and they added to this supply a whole insteamth, and three quarters of another *: But as the king deemed thele fums still unequal to the undertaking, he attempted to levy money by way of benevolence; a kind of exaction which, except during the reigns of Henry III. and Richard II. had not been much practised in former times, and which, though the confent of the parties was pretended to be gained, could not be deemed entirely voluntary. The clauses annexed to the parliamentary grant show sufficiently the spirit of the nation in this respect. The money levied by the fifteenth was not to be put into the king's hands, but to be kept in religious houses; and if the expedition into France should not take place, it was immediately to be refunded to the people. After these grants the parliament was dissolved, which had fitten near two years and a half, and had undergone feveral prorogations; a practice not very usual at that time in England.

w Rymer, vol. xi. p. 856, 807, 808, &c. x Cotton, p. 696. 700. Hift. Croyl. cont. p 558. Y Hall, fol. 226. Habington, p. 461. Grafton, p 719 habian, fol. 221.

C H A P. XXII. 1475. Invation of France.

THE king passed over to Calais with an army of 1500 men at arms, and 15,000 archers; attended by all the chief nobility of England, who, prognosticating future successes from the past, were eager to appear on this great theatre of honour. But all their fanguine hopes were damped when they found, on entering the French territories, that neither did the constable open his gates to them, nor the duke of Burgundy bring them the smallest assistance. That prince, transported by his ardent temper, had carried all his armies to a great distance, and had employed them in wars on the frontiers of Germany, and against the duke of Lorrain: And though he came in person to Edward, and endeavoured to apologise for this breach of treaty, there was no prospect that they would be able this campaign to make a conjunction with the English. This circumstance gave great disgust to the king, and inclined him to hearken to those advances which Lewis continually made him for an accommodation.

THAT monarch, more swayed by political views than by the point of honour, deemed no submissions too mean, which might free him from enemies who had proved so formidable to his predecessors, and who, united to so many other enemies, might still shake the well-established government of France. It appears from Comines, that discipline was at this time very impersect among the English; and that their civil wars, though long continued, yet being always decided by hasty battles, had still left them ignorant of the improvements which the military art was beginning to receive upon the continent. But as Lewis was sensible that the warlike genius of the

² Comines, liv. iv. chap. 3. This author fays (chap. 11.) that the king artfully brought over fome of the richest of his subjects, who he knew would be soon tired of the war, and would promote all proposals of peace, which he forest would be soon necessary.

² Comines, liv. iv. chap. 5.

people would foon render them excellent foldiers, he was far from despising them for their present want of experience; and he employed all his art to detach them from the alliance of Burgundy. When Edward fent him a herald to claim the crown of France, and to carry him a defiance in case of refueal, so far from answering to this bravado in like haughty terms, he replied with great temper, and even made the herald a confiderable present b: He took afterwards an opportunity of fending a herald to the English camp; and having given him directions to apply to the lords Stanley and Howard, who he heard were friends to peace, he defired the good offices of these 29th Aug. noblemen in promoting an accommodation with their master '. As Edward was now fallen into like dispositions, a truce was soon concluded on terms more advantageous than honourable to Lewis. He stipulated to pay Edward immediately 75,000 crowns, on condition that he should withdraw his army from France, and promised to pay him 50,000 crowns a year during their joint lives: It was added, that Pecquigni the dauphin when of age should marry Edward's eldest daughter d. In order to ratify this treaty, the two monarchs agreed to have a personal interview; and for that purpose suitable preparations were made at Pecquigni, near Amiens. A close rail was drawn across a bridge in that place, with no larger intervals than would allow the arm to pass; a precaution against a similar accident to that which befel the duke of Burgundy in his conference with the dauphin at Montereau. Edward and Lewis came to the opposite sides; conferred privately together; and having confirmed their friendship, and interchanged many mutual civilities, they foon after parted .

1475.

c Comines, liv. iv. b Comines, liv.iv. chap. 5. Hall, fol. 227. c Comines, liv. iv. 4 Rymer, vol. xii. p. 17. chap. 74 chap. 9.

C H A P. XXII.

Lewis was anxious not only to gain the king's friendship, but also that of the nation, and of all the confiderable perfons in the English court. He bestowed pensions, to the amount of 16 000 crowns a year, on several of the king's favourites; on lord Hastings two thousand crowns; on lord Howard and others in proportion; and these great ministers were not ashamed thus to receive wages from a foreign prince. As the two armies, after the conclusion of the truce, remained some time in the neighbourhood of each other, the English were not only admitted freely into Amiens, where Lewis resided, but had also their charges detrayed, and had wine and victuals furnished them in every inn, without any payment being demanded. They flocked thither in such multitudes, that once above nine thousand of them were in the town, and they might have made themselves masters of the king's person; but Lewis concluding, from their jovial and dissolute manner of living, that they had no bad intentions, was careful not to betray the least sign of fear or jealousy. And when Edward, informed of this disorder, desired him to shut the gates against him, he replied, that he would never agree to exclude the English from the place where he refided; but that Edward, if he pleased, might recal them, and place his own officers at the gates of Amiens to prevent their returning .

Lewis's defire of confirming a mutual amity with England engaged him even to make imprudent advances, which it cost him afterwards some pains to evade. In the conference at Pecquigni, he had said to Edward, that he wished to have a visit from him at Paris; that he would there endeavour to amuse him with the ladies; and that, in case any offences were then committed, he would assign him the cardinal of Bourbon for confessor, who from sellow-feeling would not be over and above severe in the penances

f Hall, fol. 235. 8 Comine, liv. iv. chap. 9. Hall, fol 233.

which he would enjoin. This hint made deeper CHAP. inpression than Lewis intended. Lord Howard, who accompanied him back to Amiens, told him, in confidence, that, if he were so disposed, it would not be impossible to persuade Edward to take a journey with him to Paris, where they might make merry together. Lewis pretended at first not to hear the offer; but, on Howard's repeating it, he expressed his concern that his wars with the duke of Burgundy would not permit him to attend his royal guest, and do him the honours he intended. "Edward," faid he, privately to Comines, " is " a very handsome and a very amorous prince: "Some lady at Paris may like him as well as he " shall do her; and may invite him to return in " another manner. It is better that the sea be be-" tween us h."

This treaty did very little honour to either of these monarchs: It discovered the imprudence of Edward, who had taken his measures so ill with his allies as to be obliged, after fuch an expensive atmament, to return without making any acquisitions adequate to it: It showed the want of dignity in Lewis, who, rather than run the hazard of a battle, agreed to subject his kingdom to a tribute, and thus acknowledge the superiority of a neighbouring prince, possessed of less power and territory than himself. But, as Lewis made interest the sole test of honour, he thought that all the advantages of the treaty were on his fide, and that he had overreached Edward, by sending him out of France on fuch easy terms. For this reason he was very solicitous to conceal his triumph; and he strictly enjoined his courtiers never to show the English the least fign of mockery or derision. But he did not himself very carefully observe so prudent a rule: He could not forbear, one day, in the joy of his

h Comines, liv. iv. chap. 10. Habington, p. 469.

CHAP, heart, throwing out some raillery on the easy sime plicity of Edward and his council; when he peceived that he was overheard by a Gascon who had fettled in England. He was immediately sensible of his indifcretion; feat a message to the gentleman; and offered him such advantages in his own country, as engaged him to remain in France. It is but just, said he, that I pay the penalty of my talkativeness 1.

THE most honourable part of Lewis's treaty with Edward was the stipulation for the liberty of queen Margaret, who, though after the death of her hufband and fon, she could no longer be formidable to government, was still detained in custody by Edward. Lewis paid fifty thousand crowns for her ransom; and that princels, who had been so active on the stage of the world, and who had experienced fuch a variety of fortune, passed the remainder of her days in tranquillity and privacy, till the year 1482, when the died: An admirable princess, but more illustrious by her undaunted spirit in adversity, than by her moderation in prosperity. She seems neither to have enjoyed the virtues, nor been subject to the weaknesses, of her sex; and was as much tainted with the ferocity as endowed with the courage of that barbarous age in which she lived.

Though Edward had so little reason to be satisfied with the conduct of the duke of Burgundy, he referved to that prince a power of acceding to the treaty of Pecquigni: But Charles, when the offer was made him, haughtily replied, that he was able to support himself without the assistance of England, and that he would make no peace with Lewis till three months after Edward's return into his own country. This prince possessed all the ambition and courage of a conqueror; but being defective in policy and prudence, qualities no less essential, he was

i Comines, liv. iii. chap. 10.

unfortunate



unfortunate in all his enterprises, and perished at CHAP. last in battle against the Swissk; a people whom he XXII. despised, and who, though brave and free, had hitherto been in a manner overlooked in the general system of Europe. This event, which happened in the year 14-7, produced a great alteration in the views of all the princes, and was attended with consequences which were felt for many generations. Charles left only one daughter, Mary, by his first wife; and this princess being heir of his opulent and extensive dominions, was courted by all the potentates of Christendom, who contended for the possession of so rich a prize. Lewis, the head of her family, might, by a proper application, have obtained this match for the dauphin, and have thereby united to the crown of France all the provinces of the Low Countries, together with Burgundy, Artois, and Picardy; which would at once have rendered his kingdom an overmatch for all its neighbours. But a man wholly interested is as rare as one entirely endowed with the opposite quality; and Lewis, though impregnable to all the sentiments of generosity and friendship, was, on this occasion, carried from the road of true policy by the passions of animosity and revenge. He had imbibed so deep a hatred to the house of Burgundy, that he rather chose to subdue the princess by arms, than unite her to his family by marriage: He conquered the duchy of Burgundy and that part of Picardy, which had been ceded to Philip the Good by the treaty of Arras: But he thereby forced the states of the Netherlands to bestow their sovereign in marriage on Maximilian of Austria, son of the emperor Frederic, from whom they looked for protection in their preient distresses: And by these means France lost the opportunity, which she never could recal, of making that important acquisition of power and territory.

^{*} Comines, liv. v. chap. 8.

C. H À P. XXII

During this interesting crisis, Edward was no less defective in policy and was no less actuated by private passions, unworthy of a sovereign and a statesman. Jealousy of his brother Clarence had caused him to neglect the advances which were made of marrying that prince, now a widower, to the heiress of Burgundy; and he sent her proposals of espousing Anthony earl of Rivers, brother to his queen, who still retained an entire ascendant over him. But the match was rejected with disdain "; and Edward, resenting this treatment of his brother-in-law, permitted France to proceed without interruption in her conquests over his defenceless ally. Any pretence sufficed him for abandoning himself entirely to indolence and pleasure, which were now become his ruling passions. The only object which divided his attention, was the improving of the public revenue, which had been dilapidated by the necessities or negligence of his predeceffors; and some of his expedients for that purpose, though unknown to us, were deemed, during the time, oppressive to the people n. The detail of private wrongs naturally eleapes the notice of history; but an act of tyranny, of which Edward was guilty in his own family, has been taken notice of by all writers, and has met with general and deferved cenfure.

Trial and execution of the duke Clarence.

THE duke of Clarence, by all his services in deserting Warwic, had never been able to regain the king's friendship, which he had forfeited by his former confederacy with that nobleman. He was still regarded at court as a man of a dangerous and a sickle character; and the imprudent openness and violence of his temper, though it rendered him much less dangerous, tended extremely to multiply his enemies, and to incense them against him.

Polyd. Virg. Hall, fcl. 240. Hollingshed, p. 703. Habington, P 474. Grafton, p. 742. m Hall, fol. 240.

^{*} Ibid. 241. Hift. Crwyl. cont. p. 559.

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Among others, he had had the misfortune to give C H A P. displeasure to the queen herself, as well as to his XXII. brother the duke of Glocester, a prince of the deepest policy, of the most unrelenting ambition, and the least scrupulous in the means which he employed for the attainment of his ends. A combination between these potent adversaries being secretly formed against Clarence, it was determined to begin by attacking his friends; in hopes, that if he patiently endured this injury, his pufillanimity would dishonour him in the eyes of the public; if he made resistance, and expressed resentment, his passion would betray him into measures which might give them advantages against him. The king, hunting one day in the park of Thomas Burdet of Arrow, in Warwichire, had killed a white buck, which was a great favourite of the owner; and Burdet, vexed at the loss, broke into a passion, and wished the horns of the deer in the belly of the person who had advised the king to commit that infult upon him. This natural expression of resentment, which would have been overlooked or forgotten had it fallen from any other person, was rendered criminal and capital in that gentleman, by the friendship in which he had the misfortune to live with the duke of Clarence: He was tried for his life; the judges and jury were found servile enough to condemn him; and he was publicly beheaded at Tyburn for this pretended offence. About the fame time, one John Stacey an ecclesiastic, much connected with the duke, as well as with Burdet, was exposed to a like iniquitous and barbarous prosecution. This clergyman, being more learned in mathematics and aftronomy than was usual in that age, lay under the imputation of necromancy with the ignorant vulgar; and the court laid hold of this popular rumour to effect his destruction. He was brought to his trial

for

Habington, p. 475. Hollingshed, p. 703. Sir Thomas More in Kennet, p. 498.

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C H A P. for that imaginary crime; many of the greatest peers countenanced the profecution by their presence; he was condemned, put to the torture, and executed P.

THE duke of Clarence was alarmed when he found these acts of tyranny exercised on all around him: He reflected on the fate of the good duke of Glocester in the last reign, who, after seeing the most infamous pretences employed for the destruction of his nearest connexions, at last fell himself a victim to the vengeance of his enemies. But Clarence, instead of securing his own life against the present danger by silence and reserve, was open and loud in justifying the innocence of his friends, and in exclaiming against the iniquity of their prosecutors. The king, highly offended with his freedom, or using that pretence against him, committed him to the Tower 9, summoned a parliament, and tried him for his life before the house of peers, the supreme tribunal of the nation.

1478. 16th Jan.

> THE duke was accused of arraigning public justice, by maintaining the innocence of men who had been condemned in courts of judicature; and of inveighing against the iniquity of the king, who had given orders for their prosecution. Many rash expressions were imputed to him. and some too reslecting on Edward's legitimacy; but he was not accused of any overt act of treason; and even the truth of these speeches may be doubted of, since the liberty of judgment was taken from the court, by the king's appearing personally as his brother's accuser's, and plea ing the cause against him. But a sentence of condemnation, even when this extraordinary circumstance had not place, was a necessary consequence in those times, of any prosecution by the court or the prevailing party; and the duke of Clarence was pronounced guilty by the perrs house of commons were no less slavish and unjust:

⁹ Ibid. p. 562. P Hist. Croyl. cont. p. 561.

⁴ Hist. Croyl. cont. p. 562. * Stowe, p. 430.

They both petitioned for the execution of the duke- C H A P. and afterwards passed a bill of attainder against him '. XXII. The measures of the parliament, during that age, 1478: furnish us with examples of a strange contrast of freedom and fervility: They scruple to grant, and sometimes resule, to the king the smallest supplies, the most necessary for the support of government, even the most necessary for the maintenance of wars, for which the nation, as well as the parliament itself, expressed great fondness: But they never scruple to concur in the most flagrant act of injustice or tyranny, which falls on any individual, however diftinguished by birth or merit. These maxims, so ungenerous, so opposite to all principles of good government, so contrary to the practice of present parliaments, are very remarkable in all the transactions of the English history, for more than a century after the period in which we are now engaged.

THE only favour which the king granted his bro- 18th Feb. ther, after his condemnation, was to leave him the choice of his death; and he was privately drowned in a butt of malmeley in the Tower: A whimsical choice, which implies that he had an extraordinary passion for that liquor. The duke left two children by the elder daughter of the earl of Warwic; a son, created an earl by his grandfather's title, and a daughter, afterwards countels of Salisbury. Both this prince and princess were also unfortunate in their end, and died a violent death; a fate which for many years attended almost all the descendants of the royal blood in England. There prevails a report, that a chief source of the violent prosecution of the duke of Clarence, whose name was George, was a current prophecy, that the king's fon should be murdered by one, the initial letter of whose name was G". It is not impossible but, in those ignorant

² Stowe, p. 430. Hist. Croyl. cont. p 562.

u Hall, fol. 239. Hollingshed, p. 703. Grafton, p. 741. Polyd. Virg P. 537. Sir Thomas More in Kennet, p. 497.

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CHAP. times, such a filly reason might have some influence: But it is more probable that the whole story is the invention of a subsequent period, and founded on the murder of these children by the duke of Glocester. Comines remarks, that, at that time, the English never were without some superstitious prophecy or other, by which they accounted for every event.

ALL the glories of Edward's reign terminated with the civil wars; where his laurels too were extremely fullied with blood, violence, and cruelty. feems afterwards to have been funk in indolence and pleasure, or his measures were frustrated by imprudence and the want of forefight. There was no obicct on which he was more intent than to have all his daughters fettled by splendid marriages, though most of these princesses were yet in their infancy, and though the completion of his views, it was obvious, must depend on numberless accidents, which were impossible to be foreseen or prevented. eldest daughter, Elizabeth, was contracted to the dauphin; his second, Cicely, to the eldest son of James III. king of Scotland; his third, Anne, to Philip only fon of Maximilian and the duchefs of Burgundy; his fourth, Catharine, to John son and heir to Ferdinand king of Arragon, and Isabella queen of Castile w. None of these projected marriages took place; and the king himself saw, in his life time, the rupture of the first, that with the dauphin, for which he had always discovered a peculiar fondness. Lewis, who paid no regard to treaties or engagements, found his advantage in contracting the dauphin to the princess Margaret daughter of Maximilian; and the king, notwithstanding his indolence, prepared to revenge the indignity. The French monarch, eminent for prudence as well as perfidy, endeavoured to guard against the blow; and

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▼ Rymer, vol. zi. p. 110.

by a proper distribution of presents in the court of CHAP. Scotland, he incited James to make war upon England. This prince, who lived on bad terms with his own nobility, and whose force was very unequal to the enterprise, levied an army; but when he was ready to enter England, the barons, conspiring against his favourites, put them to death without trial; and the army presently disbanded. The duke of Glocester, attended by the duke of Albany, James's brother, who had been banished his country, entered Scotland at the head of an army, took Berwic, and obliged the Scots to accept of a peace, by which they resigned that fortress to Edward. This fuccess emboldened the king to think more seriously of a French war; but while he was making preparations for that enterprise, he was seized with a diffemper, of which he expired in the forty-second 9th April.
year of his age, and the twenty-third of his reign: Death and character A prince more splendid and showy, than either pru- of Eddent or virtuous; brave, though cruel; addicted to pleasure, though capable of activity in great emergencies; and less sitted to prevent ills by wise precautions, than to remedy them after they took place, by his vigour and enterprise. Besides sive daughters, this king left two fons; Edward prince of Wales, his fuccessor, then in his thirteenth year. and Richard duke of York in his ninth.

ward IV.

CHAP. XXIII.

EDWARD V. and RICHARD III,

Edward V.—State of the court—The earl of Rivers arrested—Duke of Glocester protector -Execution of lord Hastings-The protector aims at the crown—Assumes the crown— Murder of Edward V. and of the duke of York -Richard III. Duke of Buckingham difcontented—The carl of Richmond—Bucking. bam executed——Invasion by the earl of Richmond ---Battle of Bosworth-Death and character of Richard III.

EDWARD V.

CHAP. URING the later years of Edward IV. the nation having, in a great measure, forgotten the bloody feuds between the two roses, and peaceably acquiescing in the established government, was State of the court. agitated only by some court-intrigues, which, being restrained by the authority of the king, seemed nowise to endanger the public tranquillity. These intrigues arose from the perpetual rivalship between two parties; one confisting of the queen and her. relations, particularly the earl of Rivers her brother, and the marquis of Dorset her son; the other composed of the ancient nobility, who envied the fudden growth and unlimited credit of that aspiring family. At the head of this latter party was the

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duke of Buckingham, a man of very noble birth,



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of ample possessions, of great alliances, of shining CHAP. parts; who, though he had married the queen's fister, was too haughty to act in subserviency to her inclinations, and aimed rather at maintaining an independent influence and authority. Lord Hastings, the chamberlain, was another leader of the same party; and as this nobleman had, by his bravery and activity, as well as by his approved fidelity, acquired the confidence and favour of his master, he had been able, though with some difficulty, to support himself against the credit of the queen. The lords Howard and Stanley maintained a connexion with these two noblemen, and brought a considerable accession of influence and reputation to their party. All the other barons, who had no particular dependance on the queen, adhered to the same interest; and the people in general, from their natural envy against the prevailing power, bore great favour to the cause of these noblemen.

Bur Edward knew that, though he himself had been able to overawe those rival factions, many disorders might arise from their contests during the minority of his fon; and he therefore took care, in his last illness, to summon together several of the leaders on both sides, and, by composing their ancient quarrels, to provide, as far as possible, for the future tranquillity of the government. After expressing his intentions that his brother the duke of Glocester, then absent in the north, should be entrusted with the regency, he recommended to them peace and unanimity during the tender years of his son; represented to them the dangers which must attend the continuance of their animosities; and engaged them to embrace each other with all the appearance of the most cordial reconciliation. But this temporary or feigned agreement lasted no longer than the king's life: He had no sooner expired, than the jealousies of the parties broke out afresh: And each of them applied, by separate messages,

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CHAP. messages, to the duke of Glocester, and endeavoured to acquire his favour and friendship.

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This prince, during his brother's reign, had endeavoured to live on good terms with both parties; and his high birth his extensive abilities, and his great fervices, had enabled him to support himself without falling into a dependance on either. But the new fituation of affairs, when the supreme power was devolved upon him, immediately changed his measures; and he secretly determined to preserve no longer that neutrality which he had hitherto maintained. His exorbitant ambition, unrestrained by any principle either of justice or humanity, made him carry his views to the possession of the crown itself; and as this object could not be attained without the ruin of the queen and her family, he fell, without hesitation, into concert with the opposite party. But being sensible, that the most profound dissimulation was requisite for effecting his criminal purposes, he rédoubled his professions of zeal and attachment to that princess; and he gained such credit with her, as to influence her conduct in a point, which, as it was of the utmost importance, was violently disputed between the opposite factions.

The young king, at the time of his father's death, resided in the castle of Ludlow, on the borders of Wales; whither he had been fent, that the influence of his presence might overawe the Welsh, and restore the tranquillity of that country, which had been disturbed by some late commotions. His person was committed to the care of his uncle the earl of Rivers, the most accomplished nobleman in England, who, having united an uncommon taste for literature, to great abilities in business, and valour in the field, was entitled, by his talents, still

y This nobleman fi.st introduced the noble art of printing into England. Caxton was recommended by him to the patronage of Edward IV. See Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors.

more than by nearness of blood, to direct the edu. CHAP. cation of the young monarch. The queen, anxious to preserve that ascendant over her son, which she had long maintained over her husband, wrote to the earl of Rivers, that he should levy a body of forces, in order to escort the king to London, to protect him during his coronation, and to keep him from falling into the hands of their enemies. The opposite faction, sensible that Edward was now of an age when great advantages could be made of his name and countenance, and was approaching to the age when he would be legally intitled to exert in person his authority, foresaw, that the tendency of this measure was to perpetuate their subjection under their rivals; and they vehemently opposed a resolution which they represented as the fignal for renewing a civil war in the kingdom. Lord Hastings threatened to depart instantly to his government of Calais 2: The other nobles seemed resolute to oppose force by force: And as the duke of Glocester, on pretence of pacifying the quarrel, had declared against all appearance of an armed power, which might be dangerous, and was nowife necessary, the queen, trusting to the sincerity of his friendship, and overawed by so violent an opposition, recalled her orders to her brother, and defired him to bring up no greater retinue than should be necessary to support the state and dignity of the young sovereign a.

THE duke of Glocelter, mean while, fet out from York, attended by a numerous train of the northern gentry. When he reached Northampton, he was joined by the duke of Buckingham, who was also attended by a splendid retinue; and as he heard that the king was hourly expected on that road, he resolved to await his arrival, under colour of conducting him thence in person to London. The earl of Rivers, apprehensive that the place would be too

Hist. Croyl. cont. p. 564, 565.

² Sir T More, p. 483.

The earl of Rivers arrefted.

ift May.

C H A P. narrow to contain so many attendants, sent his pupil XXIII. forward by another read to Stony Strategies forward by another road to Stony-Stratford; and came himself to Northampton, in order to apologise for this measure, and to pay his respects to the duke of Glocester. He was received with the greatest appearance of cordiality: He passed the evening in an amicable manner with Glocester and Buckingham: He proceeded on the road with them next day to join the king: But as he was entering Stony-Stratford, he was arrested by orders from the duke of Glocester b: Sir Richard Gray, one of the queen's fons, was at the same time put under a guard, together with fir Thomas Vaughan, who possessed a considerable office in the king's household; and all the prisoners were instantly conducted to Pomfret. Glocester approached the young prince with the greatest demonstrations of respect; and encleavoured to fatisfy him with regard to the violence committed on his uncle and brother: But Edward, much attached to these near relations, by whom he had been tenderly educated, was not fuch a master of dissimulation as to conceal his displeafure '.

#th May.

THE people, however, were extremely rejoiced at this revolution; and the duke was received in London with the loudest acclamations: But the queen no sooner received intelligence of her brother's imprisonment, than she foresaw that Glocester's violence would not stop there, and that her own ruin, if not that of all her children, was finally determined. She therefore fled into the fanctuary of Westminster, attended by the marquis of Dorset; and she carried thither the five princesses, together with the duke of York d. She trusted, that the ecclesiastical privileges which had formerly, during the total ruin of her husband and family, given her protection against the sury of the Lancastrian fac-

b Hist. Croyl. cont. p. 564, 565.

c Sir T. More, p. 484.

⁴ Hist. Croyl, cont. p. 565.

tion, would not now be violated by her brother-in- CHAP. law, while her son was on the throne; and she resolved XXIII. to await there the return of better fortune. But Glocester, anxious to have the duke of York in his power, proposed to take him by force from the sanctuary; and he represented to the privy-council, both the indignity put upon the government by the queen's ill-grounded apprehensions, and the necesfity of the young prince's appearance at the ensuing coronation of his brother. It was farther urged, that ecclesiastical privileges were originally intended only to give protection to unhappy men persecuted for their debts or crimes; and were entirely useless to a person who, by reason of his tender age, could lie under the burden of neither, and who, for the fame reason, was utterly incapable of claiming security from any fanctuary. But the two archbishops, cardinal Bourchier the primate and Rotherham archbishop of York, protesting against the sacrilege of this measure; it was agreed, that they should first endeavour to bring the queen to compliance by perfuasion, before any violence should be employed against her. These prelates were persons of known integrity and honour; and being themselves entirely persuaded of the duke's good intentions, they employed every argument, accompanied with earnest entreaties, exhortations, and assurances, to bring her over to the same opinion. She long continued obstinate, and insisted, that the duke of York, by living in the fanctuary, was not only secure himself, but gave fecurity to the king, whose life no one would dare to attempt, while his successor and avenger remained in fafety. But finding that none supported her in these sentiments, and that sorce, in case of refusal, was threatened by the council, the at last complied, and produced her son to the two prelates. She was here on a sudden struck with a kind of presage of his future fate: She tenderly embraced him; she bedewed him with her

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CHAP. tears; and bidding him an eternal adieu, delivered him, with many expressions of regret and reluctance,

into their custody.

Duke of (locester protector.

THE duke of Glocester, being the nearest male of the royal family capable of exercifing the government, seemed intitled, by the customs of the realm, to the office of protector; and the council, not waiting for the consent of parliament, made no scruple of investing him with that high dignity '. The general prejudice entertained by the nobility against the queen and her kindred, occasioned this precipitation and irregularity; and no one forefaw any danger to the succession, much less to the lives of the young princes, from a measure so obvious and so l'esides that the duke had hitherto been natural. able to cover, by the most profound dissimulation, his fierce and favage nature; the numerous issue of Edward, together with the two children of Clarence, feemed to be an eternal obstacle to his ambition; and it appeared equally impracticable for him to destroy so many persons possessed of a preferable title, and imprudent to exclude them. But a man who had abandoned all principles of honour and humanity, was foon carried by his predominant passion beyond the reach of fear or precaution; and Glocester, having so far succeeded in his views, no longer hesitated in removing the other obstructions which lay between him and the throne. The death of the earl of Rivers, and of the other prisoners detained in Pomfret, was first determined; and he easily obtained the consent of the duke of Buckingham, as well as of lord Hastings, to this violent and fanguinary measure. However easy it was in those times, to procure a sentence against the most innocent person, it appeared still more easy to dispatch an enemy, without any trial or form of process; and orders were accordingly issued to sir Richard Ratclisse, a proper instrument in the hands

f Hist. Croyl. cont p. 566. ^e Sir T. More, p. 491.

of this tyrant, to cut off the heads of the prisoners. CHAP. The protector then affailed the fidelity of Buckingham by all the arguments capable of swaying a vicious mind, which knew no motive of action but interest and ambilion. He represented, that the execution of persons in nearly related to the king, whom that prince so openly professed to love, and whose fate he so much resented, would never pass unpunished; and all the actors in that scene were bound in prudence to prevent the effects of his future vengeance: That it would be impossible to keep the queen for ever at a distance from her son, and equally impossible to prevent her from instilling into his tender mind the thoughts of retaliating, by-like executions, the fanguinary infults committed on her family: That the only method of obviating these mischiefs was to put the sceptre in the hands of a man of whose friendship the duke might be assured, and whose years and experience taught him to pay respect to merit, and to the rights of ancient hobility: And that the same necessity which had carried them so far in resisting the usurpation of these intruders, must justify them in attempting farther innovations, and in making, by national consent, a new settlement of the fuccession. To these reasons he added the offers of great private advantages to the duke of Buckingham; and he easily obtained from him a promise of supporting him in all his enterprises.

THE duke of Glocester, knowing the importance of gaining lord Hastings, sounded at a distance his fentiments, by means of Catesby, a lawyer, who lived in great intimacy with that nobleman; but found him impregnable in his allegiance and fidelity to the children of Edward, who had ever honoured him with his friendship s. He saw, therefore, that there were no longer any measures to be kept with-him; and he determined to ruin utterly the man whom he

² Sir T. More, p. 493.

CHAP. despaired of engaging to concur in his usurpation.

XXIII. On the very day when Divers. Con-On the very day when Rivers, Gray, and Vaughan were executed, or rather murdered at Pomfrer, by 13th June the advice of Hastings, the protector summoned a council in the Tower; whither that nobleman sufpecting no design against him, repaired without hesitation. The duke of Glocester was capable of committing the most bloody and treacherous murders with the utmost coolness and indifference. On taking his place at the council-table, he appeared in the easiest and most jovial humour imaginable. He feemed to indulge himself in familiar conversation with the counsellors, before they should enter on business; and having paid some compliments to Morton bishop of Ely, on the good and early strawberries which he raised in his garden at Holborn, he hegged the favour of having a dish of them, which that prelate immediately dispatched a servant to bring to him. The protector then left the council, as if called away by some other business; but soon after returning with an angry and inflamed countenance, he asked them what punishment those deferved that had plotted against his life, who was fo nearly related to the king, and was entrusted with the administration of government? Hattings replied, that they merited the punishment of traitors. Theje traitors, cried the protector, are the jurcorefs, my brother's wife, and June Shore his mittress, with others their affociates: See to what a condition they have reduced me by their incantations and witcheraft: Upon which he laid bare his arm, all shrivelled and decayed. But the counfellors, who knew that this infirmity had attended him from his birth, locked on each other with amazement; and above all lord Hastings, who, as he had fince Edward's death engaged in an intrigue with Jane Shore h, was naturally anxious concerning the islue of these extraordi-

^{*} See note [K] at the end of the volume.

nary proceedings. Certainly, my lord, faid he, if CHAP. they be guilty of these crimes they deserve the severest XXIII. punishment. And do you reply to me, exclaimed the protector, with your ifs and your ands? You are the chief abettor of that witch Shore: You are yourfelf a traitor: And I swear by St. Paul, that I will not dine before your head be brought me. He struck the table with his hand: Armed men rushed in at the fignal: The counsellors were thrown into the utmost consternation: And one of the guards, as if by accident or mistake, aimed a blow with a poll-ax at lord Stanley, who, aware of the danger, flunk under the table; and though he faved his life, received a severe wound in the head in the protestor's prefence. Hastings was seized, was hurried away, and Execution instantly beheaded on a timber-log which lay in the of lord Hasting court of the Tower i. Two hours after, a proclamation, well penned and fairly written, was read to the citizens of London, enumerating his offences, and apologifing to them, from the fuddenness of the discovery, for the sudden execution of that nobleman, who was very popular among them: But the faying of a merchant was much talked of on the occasion, who remarked, that the proclamation was certainly drawn by the spirit of prophecy 4.

Lord Stanley, the archbishop of York, the bishop of Ely, and other counfellors, were committed prifoners in different chambers of the Tower: And the protector, in order to carry on the farce of his accufations, ordered the goods of Jane Shore to be feized; and he summoned her to answer before the council for forcery and witchcraft. But as no proofs which could be received even in that ignorant age were produced against her, he directed her to be tried in the spiritual court for her adulteries and lewdness; and the did penance in a white theet at St. Paul's, before the whole people. This lady was born of reputable

Hift. Croyl. cont. p. 566.

^{*} Sir T. More, p. 496.

CHAP, parents in London, was well educated, and married to a ful-flantial citizen; but unhappily, views of interest, more than the maid's inclinations, had been confulted in the match, and her mind, though framed for virtue, had proved unable to resist the allurements of Edward, who folicited her favours. But while seduced from her duty by this gay and amorous monarch, the fill made herfelf respectable by her other virtues; and the ascendant which her charms and vivacity long maintained over him, was all employed in acts of beneficence and humanity. She was full forward to oppose calumny, to protect the oppressed, to relieve the indigent; and her good offices, the genuine diciates el her heart, never waited the Relicitation of prefeats, or the hopes of reciprocal fervices. But the lived not only to feel the bitternels of thame imposed on her by this tyrant, but to experience, in old age and poverty, the ingratitude of those courtiers who had long solicited her friendship, and been protected by her credit-No one, among the great multitudes whom she had obliged, had the humanity to I ring her confolation or relief: She languished out her life in tolitude and indigence: And amid t a court incred to the most atrocious crimes, the frailties of this woman justified all violations of friendflip towards her, and all neglect of former obligations.

The proaim-at the

THESE acts of violence, exercised against all the nearest connexions of the late king, prognofficated the severest fate to his defenceless children; and after the murder of Hastings, the protector no longer made a fecret of his intentions to usurp the crown. The licentious life of Edward, who was not restrained in his pleafures either by honour or prudence, afforded a pretence for declaring his marriage with the queen invalid, and all his posterity illegitimate. It was afferted, that before esponsing the lady Elizabeth Gray, he had paid court to the lady Illeanor Talbot, daughter of the earl of Shrewibury; and being repulled

pulfed by the virtue of that lady, he was obliged ere CHAP. he could gratify his definer, to confent to a private marriage, without any by Stidington bishop of Bath, who afterwards divulged the secret ! It was also maintained, that for of attainder passed against the doke of the se had virtually incapacitated his children from succeeding to the crown; and these two protector remained the only true and legitimate hei of the house of York. But as it would be disticult, if not impossible, to prove the preceding marriage of the late king; and as the rule, which excludes the heirs of an attainted blood from private succesfions, was never extended to the crown; the protector refolved to make use of another plea still more shameful and scandalous. His partisans were taught to maintain, that both Edward IV, and the duke of Clarence were illegitimate: that the duchels of York had received different lovers into her bed, who were the fathers of these children; that their resemblance to thole gallants was a fafficient proof of their spurious birth; and that the duke of Glocester alone, of all her fores, appeared v his features and countenance to be the true offspring of the duke of York. Nothing can be imagined more impudent than this affertion, which threw to foul an imputation on his own mother, a princels of irreproachable virtue, and then alive; yet the place chosen for first promulgating it was the purpit, before a large congregation, and in the profestor's presence. Dr. Shaw 22d June. was appointed to preach in St. Paul's; and having chosen this passage for his text, Bastard slips shall not thrive; he enlarged on all the topics which could discredit the birth of Edward IV. the duke of Clarence, and of all their children. He then broke out in a panegyric on the duke of Glocester; and exclaimed, "Behold this excellent prince, the ex-

Hist. Croyl. cont. p. 567. Comines. Sir Thomas More, p. 482.

CHAP. " press image of his noble father, the genuine de-" feendant of the house of York; bearing, no less in the virtues of his mind, than in the features " of his countenance, the character of the gallant " Richard, once your hero and favourite: He alone " is entitled to your allegiance: He must deliver " you trom the dominion of all intruders: He alone " can reflere the loft glory and honour of the na-" tion." It was previously concerted, that as the doctor should pronounce these words, the duke of Glocester should enter the church; and it was expected that the audience would cry out, God fave king Richard! which would immediately have been laid held of as a popular consent, and interpreted to be the voice of the nation: But by a ridiculous mistake, werthy of the whole scene, the duke did not appear till after this exclamation was already recited by the preacher. The doctor was therefore obliged to repeat his rhetorical figure out of its proper place: The audience, less from the absurd conduct of the discourse, than from their detestation of these proceedings, kept a profound filence: And the protector and his preacher were equally abashed at the ill fuccels of their stratagem.

Bur the duke was too far advanced to recede from his criminal and ambitious purpose. A new expcdient was tried to work on the people. The mayor, who was brother to Dr. Shaw, and entirely in the protector's interests, called an assembly of the citizens; where the duke of Buckingham, who possessed fome talent, for elequence, harangued them on the protector's title to the crown, and dilplayed those numerous virtues of which he pretended that prince was possessed. He next asked them, whether they would have the duke for king? and then stopped, in expectation of hearing the cry, God fave king Richard! He was surprised to observe them silent; and turning about to the mayor asked him the rea-The mayor replied, that perhaps they did not under-

understand him. Buckingham then repeated his CHAP. discourse with some variation; inforced the same XXIII. topics, asked the same question, and was received with the same silence. "I now see the cause," said the mayor; "the citizens are not accustomed to be " harangued by any but their recorder; and know on not how to answer a person of your grace's qua-" lity." The recorder, Fitz Williams, was then commanded to repeat the substance of the duke's speech; but the man, who was averse to the office, took care, throughout his whole discourse, to have it understood that he spoke nothing of himself, and that he only conveyed to them the fense of the duke of Buckingham. Still the audience kept a profound silence: "This is wonderful obstinacy," cried the duke: " Express your meaning, my friends, one " way or other: When we apply to you on this occasion, it is merely from the regard which we " bear to you. The lords and commons have suf-" ficient authority, without your confent, to ap-" point a king: But I require you here to declare, " in plain terms, whether or not you will have the "duke of Glocester for your sovereign?" After all these efforts some of the meanest apprentices, incited by the protector's and Buckingham's fervants, raifed a feeble cry, God fave king Richard "! The fentiments of the nation were now fufficiently declared: The voice of the people was the voice of God: And Buckingham, with the mayor, hastened to Baynard's 25th June. caltle, where the protector then retided, that they might make him a tender of the crown.

WHEN Richard was told that a great multitude was in the court, he refused to appear to them, and pretended to be apprehensive for his personal safety: A circumstance taken notice of by Buckingham, who observed to the citizens that the prince was ignorant of the whole design. At last he was per-

m Sir T. Morc, p. 496.

XaIII. 1483.

CHAP. suaded to slep forth, but he still kept at some distance; and he asked the meaning of their intrusion and importunity. Buckingham told him that the nation was resolved to have him for king: The protector declared his purpose of maintaining his loyalty to the present sovereign, and exhorted them to adhere to the same resolution. He was told that the people had determined to have another prince; and if he rejected their unanimous voice, they must look out for one who would be more compliant. This argument was too powerful to be refifted: He was prevailed on to accept of the crown: And he thenceforth acted as legitimate and rightful fovereign.

The prote or affume: the throne.

Murder of Edw V. and of the duke of York.

This ridiculous farce was foon after followed by a scene truly travical: The murder of the two young princes. Richard gave orders to fir Robert Brakenbury, conttable of the Tower, to put his nephews to death; but this gentleman, who had fentiments of honour, relufed to have any hand in the infamous office. The tyrant then lent for fir James Tyrrel, who promifed obcdience; and he ordered Brallenbury to relign to this gentleman the key- and government of the Tower for one night. Tvi. i chusing three associates, Slater, Dighton, and Forest, came in the night-time to the door of the chamber where the princes were lodged; and tending in the affaffins, he bade them execute their commission, while he simiest staid without. They found the young princes in bed, and fallen into a profound fleep. After suffocating them with the bolfter and pillows, they showed their naked bodies to Tyrrel, who ordered them to be buried at the foot of the stairs, deep in the ground, under a heap of stones ". These circumstances were all confessed by the actors in the following reign; and they were never punished for the crime: Probably, because Henry, whose maxims of government were extremely arbitrary, defired to establish it as a principle, CHAP. that the commands of the reigning sovereign ought to justify every enormity in those who paid obedience But there is one circumstance not so easy to them. to be accounted for: It is pretended that Richard, displeased with the indecent manner of burying his nephews, whom he had murdered. gave his chaplain orders to dig up the bodies, and to inter them in consecrated ground; and as the man died soon after, the place of their burial remained unknown, and the bodies could never be found by any fearch which Henry could make for them. Yet in the reign of Charles II. when there was occasion to remove some flones, and to dig in the very fpot which was mentioned as the place of their first interment, the bones of two persons were there found, which by their size exactly corresponded to the age of Edward and his brother: They were concluded with certainty to be the remains of those princes, and were interred under a marble monument, by orders of king Charles . Perhaps Richard's chaplain had died before he found an opportunity of executing his master's commands; and the bodies being supposed to be already removed, a diligent search was not made for them by Henry in the place where they had been buried.



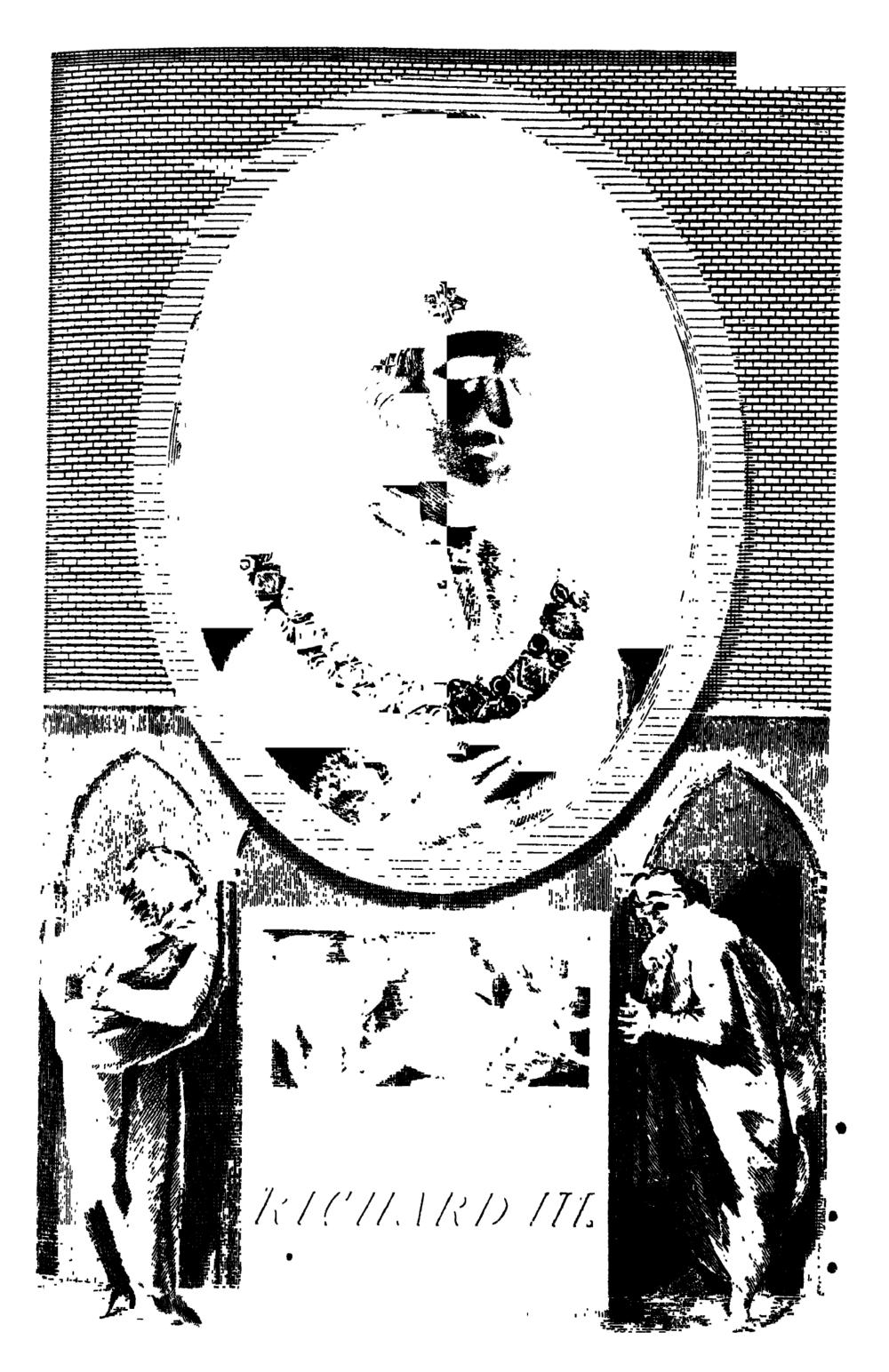
* Kennet, p. egr

RICHARD III.

1483.

CHAP. THE first acts of Richard's administration were to bestow rewards on those who had affisted him in usurping the crown, and to gain by favours those who he thought were best able to support his future government. Thomas lord Howard was created duke of Norfolk; fir Thomas Howard his fon, earl of Surry; lord Lovel a viscount by the same name; even lord Stanley was set at liberty, and made steward of the household. This nobleman had become obnoxious by his first opposition to Richard's views, and also by his marrying the countels dowager of Richmond, heir of the Somerset family; but sensible of the necessity of submitting to the present government, he seigned such zeal for Richard's fervice, that he was received into favour, and even found means to be entrusted with the most important commands by that politic and jealous tyrant.

Bur the person who, both from the greatness of his services, and the power and splendour of his family, was belt entitled to favours under the new government, was the duke of Buckingham; Richard seemed determined to spare no pains or bounty in securing him to his interests. Buckingham was descended from a daughter of Thomas of Woodstock duke of Glocester, uncle to Richard II. and by this pedigree he not only was allied to the royal family, but had claims for dignities as well as estates of a very extensive nature. The duke of Gloceller, and Henry earl of Derby, afterwards Henry IV. had married the two daughters and coheirs of Bohun earl of Hereford, one of the greatest of the ancient barons, whose immense property came thus to be divided into two shares. One was inherited



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herited by the family of Buckingham; the other was CHAP. united to the crown by the house of Lancaster, and, XXIII. aster the attainder of that royal line, was seized as legally devolved to them by the sovereigns of the house of York. The duke of Buckingham laid hold of the present opportunity, and claimed the restitution of that portion of the Hereford eslate which had escheated to the crown, as well as of the great office of constable, which had long continued by inheritance in his ancestors of that family. Richard readily complied with these demands, which were probably the price stipulated to Buckingham for his affishance in promoting the usurpation. That nobleman was invested with the office of constable; he received a grant of the estate of Hereford p; many other dignities and honours were conferred upon him; and the king thought himself fure of preserving the fidelity of a man whose interests seemed so closely connected with those of the present government.

Bur it was impossible that friendship could long Duke of remain inviolate between two men of fuch corrupt Buckingminds as Richard and the duke of Buckingham, contented, Hillorians afcribe their first rupture to the king's refusal of making restitution of the Hereford estate; but it is certain, from records, that he passed a grant for that purpose, and that the full demands of Buckingham were fatisfied in this particular. Perhaps Richard was foon sensible of the danger which might enfue from conferring fuch an immense property on a man of fo turbulent a disposition, and afterwards raifed difficulties about the execution of his own grant: Perhaps he refused some other demands of Buckingham, whom he found it impossible to gratify for his past services: Perhaps he resolved, according to the usual maxim of politicians, to seize the first opportunity of ruining this powerful subject, who had been the principal instrument of his own

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CHAP elevation; and the discovery of this intention begat the first discontent in the duke of Buckingham. However this may be, it is certain that the duke, foon after Richard's accession, began to form a conspiracy against the government, and attempted to overthrow that usurpation which he himself had so zealously contributed to establish.

> NEVER was there in any country an usurpation more flagrant than that of Richard, or more repugnant to every principle of justice and public interest. His claim was entirely founded on impudent allegations, never attempted to be proved, some of them incapable of proof, and all of them implying scandalous reflections on his own family, and on the persons with whom he was the most nearly connected. His title was never acknowledged by any national assembly, scarcely even by the lowest populace to whom he appealed; and it had become prevalent, merely for want of some person of dislinction who might stand forth against him, and give a voice to those sentiments of general detestation which arose in every bosom. Were men disposed to pardon these violations of public right, the fense of private and domestic duty, which is not to be essaced in the most barbarous times, must have begotten an abhorrence against him; and have represented the murder of the young and innocent princes, his nephews, with whose protection he had been entrusted, in the most odious colours imaginable. To endure fuch a bloody usurper seemed to draw disgrace upon the nation, and to be attended with immediate danger to every individual who was diftinguished by birth, merit, or services. Such was become the general voice of the people; all parties were united in the same sentiments; and the Lancastrians, so . long oppressed, and of late so much discredited, felt their blafted hopes again revive, and anxiously expected the confequences of these extraordinary events. The duke of Buckingham, whose samily had been devoted

devoted to that interest, and who by his mother, a CHAP. daughter of Edmund duke of Somerset, was allied XXIII. to the house of Lancaster, was easily induced to espouse the cause of this party, and to endeavour the restoring of it to its ancient superiority. Morton bishop of Ely, a zealous Lancastrian, whom the king had imprisoned, and had afterwards committed to the custody of Buckingham, encouraged these fentiments; and by his exhortations the duke cast his eye towards the young earl of Richmond, as the only person who could free thenation from the tyranny of the present usurper 9.

HENRY earl of Richmond was at this time de- The carl of tained in a kind of honourable custody by the duke of Richmonds Britanny; and his descent, which seemed to give him some pretensions to the crown, had been a great object of jealouty both in the late and in the present reign. John the first duke of Somerset, who was grandson of John of Gaunt by a spurious branch, but legitimated by act of parliament, had left only one daughter, Margaret; and his younger brother Edmund had fucceeded him in his titles, and in a confiderable part of his fortune. Margaret had espoused Edmund earl of Richmond, half-brother of Henry VI. and son of fir Owen Tudor and Catharine of France, relift of Henry V. and she bore him only one son,. who received the name of Henry, and who after his father's death inherited the honours and fortune of Richmond. His mother, being a widow, had espoused, in second marriage, sir Henry Stafford, uncle to Buckingham, and after the death of that gentleman had married lord Stanley; but had no children by either of these husbands; and her son Henry was thus, in the event of her death, the sole heir of all her fortunes. But this was not the most confiderable advantage which he had reason to expect from her succession: He would represent the elder

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CHAP. branch of the house of Somerset; he would inherit all the title of that family to the crown; and though its claim, while any legitimate branch subsisted of the house of Lancaster, had always been much disregarded, the zeal of faction, after the death of Henry VI. and the murder of prince Edward, immediately conferred a weight and confideration

upon it.

EDWARD IV. finding that all the Lancastrians had turned their attention towards the young earl of Richmond as the object of their hopes, thought him also worthy of his attention; and pursued him into his retreat in Britanny, whither his uncle the earl of Pembroke had carried him after the battle of Teukefbury, so fatal to his party. He applied to Francis II. duke of Britanny, who was his ally, a weak but a good prince; and urged him to deliver up this fugitive, who might be the fource of future disturbances in England: But the duke, averfe to so dishonourable a proposal, would only consent that, for the fecurity of Edward, the young nobleman should be detained in custody; and he received an annual pension from England for the safe-keeping or the subsistence of his prisoner. But towards the end of Edward's reign, when the kingdom was menaced with a war both from France and Scotland, the anxieties of the English court with regard to Henry were much increased; and Edward made a new proposal to the duke, which covered, under the fairest appearances, the most bloody and treacherous inten-He pretended that he was desirous of gaining his enemy, and of uniting him to his own family by a marriage with his daughter Elizabeth; and he folicited to have him fent over to England, in order to execute a scheme which would redound so much to his advantage. These pretences, seconded as is supposed by bribes to Peter Landais, a corrupt minister, by whom the duke was entirely governed, gained

gained credit with the court of Britanny: Henry C H A P. XXIII. was delivered into the hands of the English agents: He was ready to embark: When a suspicion of Edward's real design was suggested to the duke, who recalled his orders, and thus faved the unhappy youth from the imminent danger which hung over him.

THESE symptoms of continued jealousy in the reigning family of England, both seemed to give some authority to Henry's pretensions, and made him the object of general favour and compassion, on account of the dangers and persecutions to which he was exposed. The universal detestation of Richard's conduct turned still more the attention of the nation towards Henry; and as all the descendants of the house of York were either women or minors, he feemed to be the only person from whom the nation could expect the expulsion of the odious and bloody tyrant. But notwithstanding these circumstances, which were so favourable to him, Buckingham and the bishop of Ely well knew that there would still lie many obstacles in his way to the throne; and that though the nation had been much divided between Henry VI. and the duke of York, while present possession and hereditary right stood in opposition to each other; yet as foon as these titles were united in Edward IV. the bulk of the people had come over . to the reigning family; and the Lancastrians had extremely decayed, both in numbers and in authority. It was therefore fuggefied by Morton, and readily affented to by the duke, that the only means of overturning the present usurpation, was to unite the opposite factions, by contracting a marriage between the earl of Richmond and the princess Elizabeth, eldest daughter of king Edward, and thereby blending together the opposite pretensions of their families, which had so long been the source of publie disorders and convulsions. They were sensible that the people were extremely defirous of repose, after so many bloody and destructive commotions; that

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XXIII. 1483.

CHAP. that both Yorkists and Lancastrians, who now lay equally under oppression, would embrace this scheme with ardour; and that the prospect of reconciling the two parties, which was in itself so desirable an end, would, when added to the general hatred against the present government, render their cause absolutely invincible. In consequence of these views the prelate, by means of Reginald Bray, steward to the countess of Richmond, sirst opened the project of fuch an union to that lady; and the plan appeared so advantageous for her son, and at the same time fo likely to fucceed, that it admitted not of the least hesitation. Dr. Lewis, a Welsh physician, who had access to the queen-downger in her sanctuary, carried the proposals to her; and found, that revenge for the murder of her brother and of her three fons, apprehensions for her furviving family, and indignation against her confinement, eatily overcame all her prejudices against the house of Lancaster, and procured her approbation of a marriage to which the age and birth, as well as the present situation of the parties, feemed fo naturally to invite them. She tecretly borrowed a fum of money in the city, feat it over to the earl of Richmond, required his oath to celebrate the marriage as foon as he should arrive in . England, advised him to levy as many foreign forces as possible, and promised to join him on his first appearance, with all the friends and partifans of her family.

THE plan being thus laid upon the folid foundations of good sense and sound policy, it was secretly communicated to the principal persons of both parties in all the counties of England; and a wonderful alacrity appeared in every order of men to forward its success and completion. But it was impossible that so extensive a conspiracy could be conducted in so secret a manner as entirely to escape the jealous and vigilant eye of Richard; and he soon received intelligence that his enemies, headed by the

the duke of Buckingham, were forming some de- CHAP. fign against his authority. He immediately put XXIII. himself in a posture of defence by levying troops in the North; and he summoned the duke to appear at court, in fuch terms as feemed to promife him a renewal of their former amity. But that nobleman, well acquainted with the barbarity and treachery of Richard, replied only by taking arms in Wales, and giving the signal to his accomplices for a general insurrection in all parts of England. But at Onober. that very time there happened to fall such heavy rains, so incessant and continued, as exceeded any known in the memory of man; and the Severne, with the other rivers in that neighbourhood, fwelled to a height which rendered them impassable, and prevented Buckingham from marching into the heart of England to join his affociates. The Welshmen, partly moved by superstition at this extraordinary event, partly distressed by famine in their camp, fell off from him; and Buckingham, finding himself deserted by his followers, put on a disguise, and took shelter in the house of Bannister, an old servant of his family. But being detected in his Bucking-retreat, he was brought to the king at Salisbury; ham exe-cuted. and was instantly executed, according to the summary method practifed in that age. The other conspirators, who took arms in four different places, at Exeter, at Salisbury, at Newbury, and at Maidstone, hearing of the duke of Buckingham's misfortunes, despaired of success, and immediately disperfed themselves.

The marquis of Dorset and the bishop of Ely made their escape beyond sea: Many others were equally fortunate: Several fell into Richard's hands, of whom he made some examples. His executions feem not to have been remarkably fevere; though we are told of one gentleman, William Coling-

^r Hift. Croyl cont. p 568.

CHAP. bourne, who suffered under colour of this rebellion, but in reality for a distich of quibbling verses which he had composed against Richard and his mini-sters. The earl of Richmond, in concert with his friends, had fet fail from St. Malo's, carrying on board a body of 5000 men, levied in foreign parts; but his fleet being at first driven back by a storm, he appeared not on the coast of England till after the dispersion of all his friends; and he found himself obliged to return to the court of Britanny.

1484. 23doffan.

THE king, every where triumphant, and fortified by this unsuccessful attempt to dethrone him, ventured at last to summon a parliament; a measure which his crimes and flagrant usurpation had induced him hitherto to decline. Though it was natural that the parliament, in a contest of national parties, should always adhere to the victor, he seems to have apprehended, lest his title, founded on no principle and, supported by no party, might be tejected by that allembly. But his enemies being now at his feet, the parliament had no choice left but to recognife his authority, and acknowledge his right to the crown. His only son Edward, then a youth of twelve years of age, was created prince of Wales: The duties of tonnage and poundage were granted to the king for life: And Richard, in order to reconcile the nation to his government, passed some popular laws, particularly one against the late practice of extorting money on pretence of benevolence.

ALL the other measures of the king tended to the fame object. Sensible, that the only circumstance which could give him fecurity, was to gain the con-

* The lines were:

The Rat, the Cat, and Lovel that Dig, Rule at Lighard under the Hig.

Alluding to the names of Ratcliffe and Catefby; and to Richard's arm, which were a boar. fidence sidence of the Yorkists, he paid court to the queen- CHAP. dowager with fuch art and address, made such earnest protestations of his fincere good-will and friendship, that this princess, tired of confinement, and despairing of any success from her former projects, ventured to leave her fanctuary, and to put herfell and her daughters into the hands of the tyrant. But he foon carried farther his views for the establishment of his throne. He had married Anne the fecond daughter of the earl of Warwic, and widow of Edward prince of Wales, whom Richard himself had murdered; but this princess having born him but one fon, who died about this time, he confidered her as an invincible obstacle to the settlement of his fortune, and he was believed to have carried her off by poison; a crime for which the public could not be supposed to have any solid proof, but which the usual tenour of his conduct made it reasonable to suspect. He now thought it in his power to remove the chief perils which threatened his government. The carl of Richmond, he knew, could never be formidable but from his projected marriage with the princess Elizabeth, the true heir of the crown; and he therefore intended, by means of a papal dispensation, to espouse, himfell, this princefs, and thus to unite in his own family their contending titles. The queen-dowager, eager to recover her lost authority, neither scrupled this alliance, which was very unufual in England, and was regarded as incestuous; nor felt any horror at marrying her daughter to the murderer of her three fons and of her brother: She even joined fo fur her interests with those of the usurper, that she wrote to all her partifans, and among the rest, to her fon the marquis of Dorset, desiring them to withdraw from the earl of Richmond; an injury which the earl could never afterwards forgive: The court of Rome was applied to for a dispensation: Richard U_2

XXIII. 1484.

CHAP. Richard thought that he could easily defend himself during the interval, till it arrived; and he had afterwards the agreeable prospect of a full and secure settlement. He flattered himself that the English' nation, seeing all danger removed of a disputed fuccession, would then acquiesce under the dominion of a prince, who was of mature years, of great abilities, and of a genius qualified for government; and that they would forgive him all the crimes which he had committed, in paving his way to the throne.

> Bur the crimes of Richard were so horrid and fo shocking to humanity, that the natural sentiments of men, without any political or public views, were sufficient to render his government unstable; and every person of probity and honour was earnest to prevent the sceptre from being any longer polluted by that bloody and faithless hand which held it. All the exiles flocked to the earl of Richmond in Britanny, and exhorted him to hasten his attempt for a new invasion, and to prevent the marriage of the princess Elizabeth, which must prove fatal to all his hopes. The earl sensible of the urgent necessity, but dreading the treachery of Peter Landais, who had entered into a negotiation with Richard for betraying him, was obliged to attend only to his present safety; and he made his escape to the court of France. The ministers of Charles VIII. who had now fucceeded to the throne after the death of his father Lewis, gave him countenance and protection; and being desirous of raising disturbance to Richard, they secretly encouraged the earl in the levies which he made for the support of his enterprise upon England. The earl of Oxford, whom Richard's suspicions had thrown into confinement, having made his escape, here joined Henry; and inflamed his ordour for the attempt, by the savourable accounts which he brought of the dispofition:

sitions of the English nation, and their universal C H A P.

hatred of Richard's crimes and usurpation.

THE earl of Richmond set sail from Harsleur in Normandy with a small army of about 2000 men; Invation and after a navigation of fix days, he arrived at of Rich-Milford-haven in Wales, where he landed without mond. opposition. He directed his course to that part of 7th Aug. the kingdom, in hopes that the Welsh, who regarded him as their countryman, and who had been already prepossessed in favour of his cause by means of the duke of Buckingham, would join his standard, and enable him to make head against the established government. Richard, who knew not in what quarter he might expect the invader, had taken post at Nottingham, in the centre of the kingdom; and having given commissions to disserent persons in the feveral counties, whom he empowered to oppose his enemy, he purposed in person to fly on the first alarm to the place exposed to danger. Sir Rice ap-Thomas and fir Walter Herbert were entrusted with his authority in Wales; but the former immediately deferted to Henry; the second made but feeble opposition to him: And the carl, advancing towards Shrewsbury, received every day some reinforcement from his partisans. Sir Gilbert Talbot joined him with all the vassals and retainers of the family of Shrewsbury: Sir Thomas Bourchier and fir Walter Hungerford brought their friends to share his fortunes; and the appearance of men of distinction in his camp made already his cause wear a favourable aspect.

Bur the danger to which Richard was chiefly exposed proceeded not so much from the zeal of his open enemies, as from the infidelity of his pretended friends. Scarce any nobleman of distinction was fincerely attached to his cause, except the duke of Norfolk; and all those who seigned the most loyalty were only watching for an opportunity to betray and defert him. But the persons of whom

 U_3

he

XXIII. 1485.

22d Aug. Brttle of

Bolworth.

C. H. A.P. he entertained the greatest suspicion, were lord Stan. ley and his brother fir William; whose connexions with the family of Richmond, notwithstanding their professions of attachment to his person, were never entirely forgotten or overlooked by him. When he empowered lord Stanley to levy forces, he still retained his eldest son lord Strange, as a pledge for his fidelity; and that nobleman was, on this account, obliged to employ great caution and referve in his proceedings. He raifed a powerful body of his friends and retainers in Cheshire and Lancashire. but without openly declaring himself: And though Henry had received fecret affurances of his friendly intentions, the armies on both fides knew not what to infer from his equivocal behaviour. The two rivals at last approached each other at Bosworth near Leicester; Henry, at the head of six thousand men, Richard with an army of above double the number; and a decifive action was every hour expected between them. Stanley, who commanded above seven thousand men, took care to post himfelf at Atherstone, not far from the hostile camps; and he made such a disposition as enabled him on occasion to j in. either party. Richard had too much fagacity not to discover his intentions from those movements; but he kept the secret from his own men for fear of discouraging them: He took not immediate revenge on Stanley's fon, as some of his courtiers advited him; because he hoped that so valuable a pledge would induce the father to prolong still farther his ambiguous conduct: And he hastened to decide by arms the quartel with his competitor; being certain, that a victory over the carl of Richmond would enable him to take ample revenge on all his enemies, open and concealed.

THE van of Richmond's army, confisling of archers, was commanded by the earl of Oxford: Sir Gilbert Talbot led the right wing; sir John

Savage

Savage the left: The earl himself, accompanied by C II A P. his uncle the earl of Pembroke, placed himself in XXIII. the main body. Richard also took post in bis main body, and entrusted the command of his van to the duke of Norfolk: As his wings were never engaged, we have not learned the names of the several commanders. Soon after the battle began, ford Stanley, whose conduct in this whole affair discovers great precaution and abilities, appeared in the field, and declared for the earl of Richmond. This measure, which was unexpected to the men, though not to their leaders, had a proportional esset on both armies: It inspired unusual courage into Henry's soldiers; it threw Richard's into dismay and confusion. The intrepid tyrant, sensible of his desperate situation, cast his eye around the and descrying his rival at no great distance, we against him with fury, in hopes that either Hemy's death or his own would decide the victory between them. He killed with his own hands fir William Brandon, standard-bearer to the earl: He difmounted fir John Cheyney: He was now within reach of Richmond himself, who declined not the combat; when fir William Stanley, breaking in with his troops, furrounded Richard, who, fighting bravely to the last moment, was overwhelmed by numbers, and perished by a fare too mild and ho- Death, nourable for his multiplied and deteftable enorminics. His men every where fought for fafety by Hight.

THERE fell in this battle about four thousand of the vanquished; and among these the duke of Norfolk, lord Ferrars of Chartley, fir Richard Ratcliffe, fir Robert Piercy, and fir Robert Brackenbury. The lofs was inconfiderable on the fide of the victors. Sir William Catesby, a great instrument of Richard's crimes, was taken, and soon after beheaded, with some others, at Leicester. The

body UA

XXIII 1485.

CHAP. body of Richard was found in the field covered with dead enemies, and all besmeared with blood: It was thrown carriefsly across a horse; was carried to Leicester amidst the shouts of the insulting spectators; and was interred in the Gray-Friars church of that place.

and cha racter of Richard III.

THE hiltorians who favour Richard (for even this tyr no has met with partisans among the later writers) maintain, that he was well qualified for government, had he legally obtained it; and that he committed no crimes but such as were necessary to procure him possession of the crown: But this is a poor apology, when it is confessed that he was ready to commit the most horrid crimes which appeared necessary for that purpose; and it is certain, that all his courage and capacity, qualities in which he really feems not to have been deficient, would never have made compensation to the people for the danger of the precedent, and for the contagious example of vice and murder, exaited upon the throne. This prince was of a small stature, humpbacked, and had a harsh disagreeable countenance; fo that his body was in every particular no less deformed than his mind.

Thus have we pursued the history of England through a series of many barbarous ages; till we have at last reached the dawn of civility and science, and have the prospect both of greater certainty in our historical narrations, and of being able to prefent to the reader a spectacle more worthy of his attention. The want of certainty, however, and ofcircumstances, is not alike to be complained of throughout every period of this long narration. This island possesses many ancient historians of good credit, as well as many hittorical monuments; and iţ

it is rare, that the annals of so uncultivated a people, CHAP. as were the English as well as the other European nations, after the decline of Roman learning, have been transmitted to posterity so complete, and with so little mixture of fallehood and of fable. This advantage we owe entirely to the clergy of the church of Rome; who, founding their authority on their superior knowledge, preserved the precious literature of antiquity from a total extinction t; and under shelter of their numerous privileges and immunities, acquired a fecurity by means of the fuperstition, which they would in vain have claimed from the justice and humanity of those turbulent and licentious ages. Nor is the spectacle altogether unentertaining and uninstructive which the history of those times presents to us. The view of human manners, in all their variety of appearances, is both profitable and agrecable; and if the aspect in some periods seem horrid and deformed, we may thence learn to cherich with the greater anxiety that science and civility which has so close a connexion with virtue and humanity, and which, as it is a fovereign antidote against superstition, is also the most effectual remedy against vice and disorders of every kind.

THE rife, progress, perfection, and decline of art and science, are curious objects of contemplation, and intimately connected with a narration of civil transactions. The events of no particular period can be fully accounted for, but by confidering the degrees of advancement which men have

reached in those particulars.

Those who cast their eye on the general revolutions of fociety will find, that, as almost all improvements of the human mind had reached nearly to their state of perfection about the age of Augustus, there was a sensible decline from that point

^{*} See note [L] at the end of the volume.

CHAP, or period; and men thenceforth relapfed gradually XXIII. into ignorance and barbarism. The unlimited extent of the Roman empire, and the consequent despetism of its monarchs, extinguished all emulation, debased the generous spirits of men, and depressed that noble slame by which all the refined arts must be cherished and enlivened. The military government which foon succeeded, rendered even the lives and properties of men infecure and precarious; and proved destructive to those vulgar and more necessary arts of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce; and, in the end, to the military art and genius itself, by which alone the immense fabric of the empire could be supported. The irruption of the barbarous nations which foon followed, overwhelmed all human knowledge, which was already far in its decline; and men funk every age deeper into ignerance, supidity, and superstition; till the light of antient teience and hillory had very nearly fuffered a total extinction in all the European nations.

Bur there is a point of depression, as well as of exaltation, from which human affairs naturally return in a centrary direction, and beyond which they foldom post either in their advancement or decline. The period in which the people of Christendom were the lowest lank in ignorance, and contequently in diforders of every kind, may justly be fixed at the eleventh century, about the age of William the Conquerer; and from that wra, the fun of science beginning to re-afcend, threwout many gleams of light, which preceded the full morning when letters were re ived in the fiftcenth century. The Danes, and other northern people, who had so long infested all the coails, and even the inland parts of Europe, by their depredations, having now learned the arts of tillage and agriculture, found a certain subfistence at home, and were no longer tempted to defert their industry, in order to feek a precarious livelihoed

hood by rapine and by the plunder of their neighbours. The few algovernments also, among themore southern nations, were reduced to a kind of system; and though that strange species of civil polity was ill sitted to ensure either liberty or tranquillity, it was preserable to the universal licence and disorder which had every where preceded it. But perhaps there was no event which tended farther to the improvement of the age, than one which has not been much remarked, the accidental sinding of a copy of Justinian's Pandects, about the year 1130, in the town of Amalsi in Italy.

THE ecclefiastics, who had leisure, and some inclination to study, immediately adopted with zeal this excellent system of jurisprudence, and spread the knowledge of it throughout every part of Europe. Besides the intrinsic merit of the performance, it was recommended to them by its original connexion with the imperial city of Rome, which being the feat of t eir religion, feethed to acquire a new lustre and authority by the diffusion of its laws over the western world. In less than ten years after the discovery of the Pandects. Vacarius, under the protection of Theobald archbishop of Canterbury, read public lectures of civil law in the university of Oxford; and the clergy every where, by their example as well as exhortation, were the means of diffusing the highest esteem for this new science. That order of men having large possesfions to defend, was in a manner necessitated to turn their studies towards the law; and their properties being often endangered by the violence of the princes and barons, it became their interest to enforce the observance of general and equitable rules, from which alone they could receive pro-As they possessed all the knowledge tection. of the age, and were alone acquainted with the habits of thinking, the practice, as well as science of the law fell mostly into their hands: And though CHAP. Though the close connexion which, without any necessity, they formed between the canon and civil law, begat a jealousy in the laity of England, and prevented the Roman jurisprudence from becoming the municipal law of the country, as was the case in many states of Europe, a great part of it was secretly transferred into the practice of the courts of justice, and the imitation of their neighbours made the English gradually endeavour to raise their own law from its original state of rudeness and imperfection.

IT is easy to see what advantages Europe must have reaped by its inheriting at once from the ancients so complete an art, which was also so necefary for giving security to all other arts, and which, by refining, and still more by bestowing solidity on the judgment, served as a model to farther improvements. The sensible utility of the Roman law, both to public and private interest, recommended the study of it, at a time when the more exalted and speculative sciences carried no charms with them; and thus the last branch of antient literature which remained uncorrupted, was happily the first transmitted to the modern world: For it is remarkable, that in the decline of Roman learning, when the philosophers were universally infected with fuperstition and sophistry, and the poets and historians with barbarism, the lawyers, who in other countries, are seldom models of science or politeness, were yet able, by the constant study and close imitation of their predecessors, to maintain the same good sense in their decisions and reasonings, and the same purity in their language and expresfion.

What bestowed an additional merit on the civil law, was the extreme imperfection of that jurisprudence which preceded it among all the European nations, especially among the Saxons or antient English. The absurdities which prevailed at that

time in the administration of justice, may be conceive CHAP. ed from the authentic monuments which remain of the ancient Saxon laws; where a pecuniary commutation was received for every crime, where stated prices were fixed for men's lives and members, where private revenges were authorised for all injuries, where the use of the ordeal, corsnet, and afterwards of the duel, was the received method of proof, and where the judges were rustic freeholders, assembled of a sudden, and deciding a cause from one debate or altercation of the parties. Such a state of society was very little advanced beyond the rude state of nature: Violence universally prevailed, instead of general and equitable maxims: The pretended liberty of the times was only an incapacity of submitting to government: And men, not protected by law in their lives and properties, fought shelter by their personal servitude and attachments under some powerful chieftain, or by voluntary combinations.

THE gradual progress of improvement raised the Europeans somewhat above this uncultivated state; and affairs, in this island particularly, took early a turn which was more favourable to justice and to liberty. Civil employments and occupations foon became honourable among the English: The situation of that people rendered not the perpetual attention to wars so necessary as among their neighbours, and all regard was not confined to the military profession: The gentry, and even the nobility, began to deem an acquaintance with the law a necessary part of education: They were less diverted than atterwards from studies of this kind by other sciences; and in the age of Henry VI. as we are told by Fortescue, there were in the inns of court about two thousand students, most of them men of honourable birth, who gave application to this branch of civil knowledge: A circumstance which proves that a considerable progress was already made in the fcience CHAP. science of government, and which prognosticated a XXIII. still greater.

One chief advantage which resulted from the introduction and progress of the arts, was the introduction and progress of freedom; and this consequence assected men both in their personal and civil

capacities.

Is we consider the ancient state of Europe, we shall find that the far greater part of the society were everywhere bereaved of their personal liberty, and lived entirely at the will of their masters. Every one that was not noble was a flave: The peafants were fold along with the land: The few inhabitants of cities were not in a better condition: Even the gentry themselves were subjected to a long train of subordination under the greater barons or chief vaffals of the crown; who, though feemingly placed in a high state of splendour, yet, having but a flender protection from law, were exposed to every tempest of the state, and, by the precarious condition in which they lived, paid dearly for the power of oppressing and tyrannising over their inseriors. The first incident which broke in upon this violent system of government, was the practice begun in Italy, and imitated in France, of trecting communities and corporations, endowed with privileges and a separate municipal government, which gave them protection against the tyranny of the barons, and which the prince himself deemed it prudent to respect ". The relaxation of

There appear carly fymptoms of the jealoufy entertained by the barons against the progress of the arts as destructive of their scentious power. A law was enacted, 7 Henry IV, chap 17, prohibiting any one who did not possess to any trade. They found already that the cities began to drain the country of the labourers and husbandmen; and did not forcsee how much the increase of commerce would increase the value of their estate. See faither, Cotton, p. 179. The kings, to encourage the boroughs, granted them this privilege, that any villain who had lived a twelvementh in any corporation, and had been of the guild, should be thenceforth regarded as free.

XXIII.

the feudal tenures, and an execution somewhat CHAP. Hricter, of the public law, bestowed an independence on vassals which was unknown to their forefathers. And even the peafants themselves, though later than other orders of the state, made their escape from those bonds of villenage or flavery in which

they had formerly been retained.

r may appear strange, that the progress of the arts, which feems, among the Greeks and Romans, to have daily encreased the number of slaves, thould, in later times, have proved to general a fource of liberty; but this difference in the events proceeded from a preat difference in the cheminences which attended those inflitutions. The ancient barons, obliged to maintain themselves antinually in a military posture, and little candous of degance or fplendor, employed not their villains as domellie servants, much lels as manufacturere; but composed their retinue of freemen, whose milivery spirit rendered the chiestain formidable to his azighbours, and who were ready to attend him in every warlike enterprise. The villains were entirely occupied in the custivation of their matter's land, and paid their rents either in corn and cattle and other produce of the farm, or in fervile offices, which they performed about the baron's family, and upon the farms which he retained in his own possestion. In proportion as agriculture improved and money increased, it was found that these services, though extremely burdeniome to the villain, were of little advantage to the mafter; and that the produce of a large offine could be much more conveniently disposed of by the peasants themselves who raised it, than by the landlord or his bailist, who were formerly accustomed to receive it. A commutation was therefore made of rents for fervices, and of money-rents for those in kind; and as mon m a subsequent age discovered that farms were betXXIII.

CHAP ter cultivated where the farmer enjoyed a security in his possession, the practice of granting leases to the peasant began to prevail, which entirely broke the bonds of servitude, already much relaxed from the former practices. After this manner villenage went gradually into disuse throughout the more civilized parts of Europe: The interest of the master as well as that of the slave concurred in this alteration. The latest laws which we find in England for enforcing or regulating this species of servitude were enacted in the reign of Henry VII. And though the ancient statutes on this subject remain still unrepealed by parliament, it appears that, before the end of Elizabeth, the distinction of villain and freeman was totally, though infenfibly abolished, and that no person remained in the state to whom the former laws could be applied.

> Thus personal freedom became almost general in Europe; an advantage which paved the way for the increase of political or civil liberty, and which, even where it was not attended with this falutary effect, ferved to give the members of the community some

of the most considerable advantages of it.

THE constitution of the English government, ever fince the invasion of this island by the Saxons, may boast of this pre-eminence, that in no age the will of the monarch was entirely ever absolute and uncontrolled: But in other respects the balance of power has extremely shifted among the several orders of the state; and this fabric has experienced the same mutability that has attended all human institutions.

THE ancient Saxons, like the other German nations, where each individual was enured to arms, and where the independence of men was secured by a great equality of possessions, seem to have admitted a confiderable mixture of democracy into their form of government, and to have been one of the

the freest nations of which there remains any ac- CHAP. count in the records of history. After this tribe XXIII. was settled in England, especially after the dissolution of the Heptarchy, the great extent of the kingdom produced a great inequality in property; and the balance feems to have inclined to the side of ariflocracy. The Norman conquest threw more authority into the hands of the fovereign, which however admitted of great control; though derived less from the general forms of the constitution, which were inaccurate and irregular, than from the independent power enjoyed by each baron in his particular district or province. The establishment of the great charter exalted still higher the aristocracy, imposed regular limits on royal power, and gradually introduced fome mixture of democracy into the constitution. But even during this period, from the accession of Edward I. to the death of Richard III. the condition of the commons was nowife eligible;

kind of Polish aristocracy prevailed; and though the kings were limited, the people were as yet far from being free. It required the authority almost absolute of the sovereigns, which took place in the subsequent period, to pull down those disorderly and beentious tyrants, who were equally averse from peace and from freedom, and to establish that regular execution of the laws, which in a following age enabled the people to creek a regular and equitable plan of

liberty.

In each of these successive alterations, the only rule of government which is intelligible or carries any authority with it, is the established practice of the age, and the maxims of administration which are at that time prevalent and universally assented to. Those who, from a pretended respect to antiquity, appeal at every turn to an original plan of the constitution, only cover their turbulent spirit and their private ambition under the appearance of venerable forms; and whatever period they pitch on for their Vol. III.

CHAP. model, they may still be carried back to a more , ancient period, where they will find the measures of power entirely different, and where every circumstance, by reason of the greater barbarity of the times, will appear still less worthy of imitation. Above all, a civilized nation, like the English, who have happily established the most perfect and most accurate fystem of liberty that was ever found compatible with government, ought to be cautious in appealing to the practice of their ancestors, or regarding the maxims of uncultivated ages as certain rules for their present conduct. An acquaintance with the ancient periods of their government is chiefly useful, by instructing them to cherish their present constitution, from a comparison or contrast with the condition of those distant times. And it is also curious, by shewing them the remote and commonly faint and disfigured originals of the most sinished and most noble institutions, and by instructing them in the great mixture of accident which commonly concurs with a small ingredient of wildom and forelight in erecting the complicated fabric of the most perfect government.



From the Karal Collekenfington .

IKSh.nem

C H A P. XXIV.

HENRY VII.

Accession of Henry VII.—His title to the crown ---King's prejudice against the house of York-His joyful reception in London—His coronation ----Sweating sickness-A parliament-Entail of the crown—King's marriage—An infurrection—Discontents of the people—I.ambert Simnel—Revolt of Ireland—Intrigues of the dutchess of Burgundy——Lambert Simuel invades England—Battle of Stoke.

THE victory which the earl of Richmond gained C II A P. at Bosworth was entirely decisive; being attended as well with the total rout and dispersion of the royal army, as with the death of the king him- August 22. felf. Joy for this great success suddenly prompted the foldiers in the field of battle to bestow on their victorious general the appellation of king, which he had not hitherto assumed; and the acclamations of Long live Henry the Seventh! by a natural and un-Acresion premeditated movement, resounded from all quarters. of Hen-To bestow some appearance of formality on this species of military election, sir William Stanley brought a crown of ornament which Richard wore in battle, and which had been found among the spoils; and he put it on the head of the victor. Henry himself remained not in suspense; but immediately without hesitation accepted of the magnificent present which was tendered him. He was come to the crifis of his fortune; and being obliged suddenly to determine himself, amidst great difficulties which he must have frequently revolved in his mind, he chose that part which X 2

14 5.

C H A P. XXI V. 1485. His title to the crown.

CHAP. which his ambition suggested to him, and to which he seemed to be invited by his present success.

THERE were many titles on which Henry could found his right to the crown; but no one of them free from great objections, if considered with respect

either to justice or to policy.

During some years Henry had been regarded as heir to the house of Lancaster by the party attached to that family; but the title of the house of Lancaster itself was generally thought to be very illfounded. Henry IV. who had first raised it to royal dignity, had never clearly defined the foundation of his claim; and while he plainly invaded the order of fuccession, he had not acknowledged the election of the people. The parliament, it is true, had often recognised the title of the Lancastrian princes; but these votes had little authority, being considered as instances of complaisance towards a family in posfession of present power: And they had accordingly been often reversed during the late prevalence of the house of York. Prudent men also, who had been willing, for the fake of peace, to fubmit to any established authority, desired not to see the claims of that family revived; claims which must produce many convulsions 'at present, and which disjointed for the future the whole system of hereditary right. Besides, allowing the title of the house of Lancaster to be legal, Henry himself was not the true heir of that family; and nothing but the obstinacy natural to faction, which never without reluctance will fubmit to an antagonist, could have engaged the Lancastrians to adopt the earl of Richmond as their head. His mother indeed, Margaret countess of Richmond, was sole daughter and heir of the duke of Somerset, sprung from John of Gaunt duke of Lancaster: But the descent of the Somerset line was itself illegitimate, and even adulterous. And though the duke of Lancaster had obtained the legitimation

of his natural children by a patent from Richard II. CHAP. consirmed in parliament, it might justly be doubted XXIV. whether this deed could bestow any title to the crown; fince in the patent itself all the privileges conferred by it are fully enumerated, and the succession to the kingdom is expressly excluded w. In all fettlements of the crown made during the reigns of the Lancastrian princes, the line of Somerset had been entirely overlooked; and it was not till the failure of the legitimate branch, that men had paid any attention to their claim. And, to add to the general dissatisfaction against Henry's title, his mother, from whom he derived all his right, was still alive; and evidently preceded him in the order of fuccession.

THE title of the House of York, both from the plain reason of the case, and from the late popular government of Edward IV. had univerfally obtained the preference in the fentiments of the people; and Henry might ingraft his claim on the rights of that family, by his intended marriage with the princels Elizabeth, the heir of it; a marriage which he had folemnly promised to celebrate, and to the expectation of which he had chiefly owed all his patt fuccelles. But many reasons dissuaded Henry from adopting this expedient. Were he to receive the crown only in the right of his consort, his power he knew would be very limited; and he mult expect rather to enjoy the hare title of king by a fort of courtely, than possess the real authority which belongs to it. Should the princess die before him without issue, he must descend from the throne, and give place to the next in fucceifion: And even if his bed should be blett with offspring, it seemed dangerous to expect that filial piety in his children would prevail over the ambition of obtaining present possession of regal power. An act of parliament, in-

Rymer, tom, vii, p. 849. Coke's Inst. 4 Inst. part 1. p 37. deed, X_3

C II A P. deed, might easily be procured to settle the crown on XXIV. him during life a hour II him during life; but Henry knew how much fuperior the claim of fuccession by blood was to the authority of an affembly *, which had always been overborne by violence in the shock of contending titles, and which had ever been more governed by the conjunctures of the times, than by any confider. ation derived from reason or public interest.

THERE was yet a third foundation on which Henry might rest his claim, the right of conquest, by his victory over Richard, the present possessor of the crown. But besides that Richard himself was deemed no better than an usurper, the army which fought against him consisted chiefly of Englishmen; and a right of conquest over England could never be established by such a victory. Nothing also would give greater un brage to the nation than a claim of this nature; which might be construed as an abolition of all their nights and privileges, and the establishment of absolute authority in the sovereign y. William himself the Norman, though at the head of a powerful and victorious army of foreigners, had at first declined the invidious title of conqueror; and it was not till the full establishment of his authority that " he had ventured to advance so violent and destructive a pretention.

Bur Henry was sensible that there remained another foundation of power somewhat resembling the right of conquest, namely, present possession; and that this title, guarded by vigour and abilities, would be sufficient to secure perpetual possession of He had before him the example of Henry IV. who, supported by no better pretension, had fubdued many infurrections, and had been able to transmit the crown peaceably to his posterity. He could perceive that this claim, which had been perpetuated through three generations of the family of

у Pacon, p. 579. * Bacon in Kennet's complete History, p. 579. Lancaster,

Lancaster, might still have subsisted, notwithstand- CHAP. ing the preferable title of the house of York; had XXIV. not the sceptre devolved into the hands of Henry VI. 1485. which were too feeble to fustain it. Instructed by this recent experience, Henry was determined to put himself in possession of legal authority; and to show all opponents that nothing but force of arms, and a fuccessful war, should be able to expel him. His claim as heir to the house of Lancaster he was resolved to advance; and never allowed to be discussed: And he hoped that this right, favoured by the partisans of that family, and seconded by present power, would fecure him a perpetual and an independent authority.

THESE views of Henry are not exposed to much King's blame; because founded on good policy, and even prejudice on a species of necessity: But there entered into all house of his measures and counsels another motive, which ad-York. mits not of the same apology. The violent contentions which, during so long a period, had been maintained between the rival families, and the many fanguinary revenges which they had alternately taken on each other, had inflamed the opposite factions to a high pitch of animosity. Henry himself, who had seen most of his near friends and relations perish in battle or by the executioner, and who had been exposed, in his own person, to many hardships and dangers, had imbibed a violent antipathy to the York party, which no time or experience were ever able to efface. Instead of embracing the present happy opportunity of abolishing these fatal distinctions, of uniting his title with that of his confort, and of bestowing favour indiscriminately on the friends of both families; he carried to the throne all the partialities which belong to the head of a faction, and even the passions which are carefully guarded against by every true politician in that situation. To exalt the Lancastrian party, to depress the adherents of the house of York, were still the favourite objects of his pursuit; X 4

against the

C H A P. pursuit; and through the whole course of his reign, he never forgot these early prepossessions. Incapable, from his natural temper, of a more enlarged and more benevolent system of policy, he exposed himfell to many present inconveniencies, by too anxiously guarding against that future possible event, which might disjoin his title from that of the princess whom he espoused. And while he treated the Yorkists as enemies, he foon rendered them fuch, and taught them to discuss that right to the crown, which he so carefully kept separate; and to perceive its weakness and invalidity.

To these passions of Henry, as well as to his sufpicious politics, we are to ascribe the measures which he embraced two days after the battle of Bosworth. Edward Plantagenet earl of Warwie, fon of the duke of Clarence, was detained in a kind of confinement at Sherif-Hutton in Yorkshire, by the jealousy of his uncle Richard; whose title to the throne was inferior to that of the young prince. Warwic had now reason to expect better treatment, as he was no obstable to the succession either of Henry or Elizabeth; and from a youth of fuch tender years no danger could reasonably be apprehended. But sir Robert Willoughby was dispatched by Lienry, with orders te take him from Sherif-Hutton, to convey him to the Tower, and to detain him in close cullody '. The same messenger carried directions that the princess Elizabeth, who had been confined to the same place, should be conducted to London, in order to meet Henry, and there celebrate her nuptials.

HERRY himself set out for the capital, and advanced by flow journies. Not to rouse the jealousy of the people, he took care to avoid all appearance of military triumph; and so to restrain the insolence of victory, that every thing about him bore the appearance of an established monarch, making a peace-

Bacon, p. 579. Polydore Virgil, p. 565.

able



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reception in London.

able progress through his dominions, rather than of CHAP. a prince who had opened his way to the throne by force of arms. The acclamations of the people were every where loud, and no less fincere and hearty. His joyful Besides that a young and victorious prince, on his accession, was naturally the object of popularity; the nation promised themselves great felicity from the new scene which opened before them. During the course of near a whole century the kingdom had been laid waste by domestic wars and convulsions; and if at any time the noise of arms had ceased, the sound of faction and discontent still threatened new disorders. Henry, by his marriage with Elizabeth, feemed to ensure a union of the contending titles of the two families; and having prevailed over a hated tyrant, who had anew disjointed the fuccession even of the house of York, and had filled his own family with blood and murder, he was every where attended with the unfeigned favour of the people. Numerous and splendid troops of gentry and nobility accompanied his progress. The mayor and companies of London received him as he approached the city: The crowds of people and citizens were zealous in their expressions of satisfaction. But Henry, amidst this general effusion of joy, discovered still the stateliness and referve of his temper, which made him fcorn to court popularity: He entered London in a close chariot, and would not gratify the people with a light of their new levereign.

Bur the king did not to much neglect the favour of the people as to delay giving them assurances of his marriage with the princels Elizabeth, which he knew to be so passionately defined by the nation. On his leaving Britanny, he had artfully dropped fome hints, that if he thould succeed in his enterprife, and obtain the crown of England, he would elpouse Anne, the heir of that durchy; and the report of this engagement had already reached England, and had begotten anxiety in the people, and

even

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CHAP. even in Elizabeth herself. Henry took care to disipate thete apprehensions, by solemnly renewing, before the council and principal nobility, the promile which he had already given to celebrate his nuptials with the English princess. But though bound by honour, as well as by interest, to complete this alliance, he was refolved to postpone it till the ceremony of his own coronation should be finished, and till his title should be recognized by parliament. Still anxious to support his personal and hereditary right to the throne, he dreaded lest a preceding marriage with the princess should imply a participation of fovereignty in her, and raise doubts of his own title by the house of Lancaster.

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His coro

nation.

THERE raged at that time in London, and other parts of the kingdom, a species of malady unknown to any other age or nation, the sweating sickness, which occasioned the sudden death of great multitudes; though it seemed not to be propagated by any contagious infection, but arose from the general disposition of the air and of the human body. less than twenty-four hours the patient commonly died or recovered; but when the pestilence had exerted its fury for a few weeks, it was observed, either from alterations in the air, or from a more proper regimen which had been discovered, to be considerably abated a. Preparations were then made for the ceremony of Henry's coronation. In order to heighten the iplendour of that spectacle, he bestowed the rank of knight banneret on twelve perfons; and he conferred pecrages on three. Jasper earl of Pembroke, his uncle, was created duke of Bedford; Thomas lord Stanley, his father in-law, earl of Derby; and Edward Courteney earl of De-30th Oct. vonshire. At the coronation likewise there appeared a new institution, which the king had established for fecurity as well as pomp, a band of fifty archers,

who were termed yeomen of the guard. But lest the CHAP. people should take umbrage at this unusual symptom XXIV. of jealousy in the prince, as if it implied a personal diffidence of his subjects, he declared the institution to be perpetual. The ceremony of coronation was performed by cardinal Bourchier archbishop of Canterbury.

THE parliament being assembled at Westminster, 7th Nov. the majority immediately appeared to be devoted par- A parliatisans of Henry; all persons of another disposition either declining to stand in those dangerous times, or being obliged to dissemble their principles and inclinations. The Lancastrian party had every where been fuccessful in the elections; and even many had been returned, who during the prevalence of the house of York had been exposed to the rigour of law, and had been condemned by fentence of attainder and outlawry. Their right to take feats in the house being questioned, the case was referred to all the judges, who attembled in the exchequer chamber, in order to deliberate on so delicate a subject. The opinion delivered was prudent, and contained a just temperament between law and expediency b. The judges determined, that the members attainted should forbear taking their seat till an act were passed for the rever'al of their attainder. There was no difficulty in obtaining this act; and in it were comprehended a hundred and seven persons of the Ling's party .

Bur a scruple was started of a nature still more important. The king himself had been attainted; and his right of fuccession to the crown might thence be exposed to some doubt. The judges extricated themselves from this dangerous question, by afferting it as a maxim; "That the crown takes away all " defects and stops in blood; and that from the

b Bacon, p. 581.

⁶ Rot. Parl. 1 Hen. VII. n 2, 3, 4-15. 17. 26-65.

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CHAP. " time the king assumed royal authority, the fountain was cleared, and all attainders and corruptions " of blood discharged "." Besides that the case, from its urgent necessity, admitted of no deliberation; the judges probably thought, that no sentence of a court of judicature had authority sufficient to bar the right of succession; that the heir of the crown was commonly exposed to such jealousy as might often occasion stretches of law and justice against him; and that a prince might even be engaged in unjustifiable measures during his predecessor's reign, without meriting on that account to be excluded from the throne, which was his birth-right.

WITH a parliament so obsequious, the king could not fail of obtaining whatever act of fettlement he was pleased to require. He seems only to have entertained some doubt within himself on what claim he should found his pretensions. In his speech to the parliament he mentioned his just title by hereditary right: But lest'that title should not be esteemed sufficient, he subjoined his claim by the judgment of God, who had given him victory over his enemies. And again, lest this pretension should be interpreted as assuming a right of conquest, he ensured to his subjects the full enjoyment of their former properties and possessions.

Entail of the crown.

THE entail of the crown was drawn according to the sense of the king, and probably in words dictated by him. He made no mention in it of the princess Elizabeth, nor of any branch of her family; but in other respects the act was compiled with sufficient reserve and moderation. He did not insist that it should contain a declaration or recognition of his preceding right; as on the other hand he avoided the appearance of a new law or ordinance. He chose a middle course, which, as is generally un-

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avoidable in such cases, was not entirely free from CHAP. uncertainty and obscurity. It was voted, "That " the inheritance of the crown should rest, remain, " and abide in the king ";" but whether as rightful heir, or only as present possessor, was not deter-In like manner, Henry was contented that the succession should be secured to the heirs of his body; but he pretended not, in case of their failure, to exclude the house of York, or give the preference to that of Lancaster: He left that great point ambiguous for the present, and trusted that, if it should ever become requisite to determine it. future incidents would open the way for the decision.

Bur even after all these precautions, the king was so little satisfied with his own title, that in the following year he applied to papal authority for a confirmation of it; and as the court of Rome gladly laid hold of all opportunities which the imprudence, weakness, or necessities of princes assorded it to extend its influence, Innocent VIII. the reigning pope, readily granted a bull in whatever terms the king was pleased to desire. All Henry's titles, by succession, marriage, parliamentary choice, even conquest, are there enumerated; and to the whole the fanction of religion is added; excommunication is denounced against every one who should either, disturb him in the present possession, or the heirs of his body in the future succession of the crown; and from this penalty no criminal, except in the article of death, could be absolved but by the pope himself, or his special commissioners. It is difficult to imagine that the security derived from this bull could be a compensation for the defect which it betrayed in Henry's title, and for the danger of thus inviting the pope to interpose in these concerns.

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Ir was natural, and even laudable in Henry to reverse the attainders which had passed against the partisans of the house of Lancaster: But the revenges which he exercised against the adherents of the York family, to which he was so soon to be allied, cannot be considered in the same light. Yet the parliament, at his instigation, passed an act of attainder against the late king himself, against the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Surry, viscount Lovel, the lords Zouche and Ferrars of Chartley, sir Walter and sir James Harrington, fir William Berkeley, fir Humphrey Stafford, Catesby, and about twenty other gentlemen, who had fought on Richard's side in the battle of Botworth. How men could be guilty of treason, by supporting the king in possession against the earl of Richmond, who assumed not the title of king, it is not easy to conceive; and nothing but a servile complaifance in the parliament could have engaged them to make this stretch of justice. Nor was it a fmall mortification to the people in general, to find that the king, prompted either by avarice or refentment, could in the very beginning of his reign fo far violate the cordial union which had previously been concerted between the parties, and to the expectation of which he had plainly owed his fuccession to the throne.

THE king, having gained to many points of confequence from the parliament, thought it not expedient to demand any supply from them, which the profound peace enjoyed by the nation, and the late forfeiture of Richard's adherents, seemed to render noth Dec. somewhat superfluous. The parliament, however, conferred on him during life the duty of tonnage and poundage, which had been enjoyed in the fame manner by some of his immediate predecessors; and they added, before they broke up, other money bills of no great moment. The king, on his part, made returns of grace and favour to his people. He published

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published his royal proclamation, offering pardon to CHAP. all such as had taken arms, or formed any attempts against him; provided they submitted themselves to mercy by a certain day, and took the usual oath of fealty and allegiance. Upon this proclamation many came out of their fanctuaries; and the minds of men were every where much quieted. Henry chose to take wholly to himself the merit of an act of grace, so agreeable to the nation; rather than communicate it with the parliament (as was his first intention), by passing a bill to that purpose. The earl of Surrey, however, though he had submitted, and delivered himself into the king's hands, was sent prisoner to the Tower.

During this parliament the king also bestowed favours and honours on some particular persons who were attached to him. Edward Stafford, eldest son of the duke of Buckingham, attainted in the late reign, was restored to the honours of his family as well as to its fortune, which was very ample. This generosity, so unusual in Henry, was the effect of his gratitude to the memory of Buckingham, who had first concerted the plan of his elevation, and who by his own ruin had made way for that great event. Chandos of Britanny was created earl of Bath, sir Giles Daubeny lord Daubeny, and fir Robert Willoughby lord Broke. These were all the titles of nobility conferred by the king during this fession of parliament '.

Bur the ministers whom Henry most trusted and favoured were not chosen from among the nobility, or even from among the laity. John Morton and Richard Fox, two clergymen, persons of industry, vigilance, and capacity, were the men to whom he chiefly confided his affairs and fecret counsels. They had shared with him all his former dangers and dis-

f Polydore Virgil, p. 566.

CHAP. tresses; and he now took care to make them participate in his good fortune. They were both called to the privy council; Morton was restored to the bishopric of Ely, Fox was created bishop of Exeter The former foon after, upon the death of Bourchier, was raised to the see of Canterbury. The latter was made privy feal; and fuccessively bishop of Bath and Wells, Durham and Winchester. For Henry, as lord Bacon observes, loved to employ and advance prelates; because, having rich bishoprics to bestow, it was easy for him to reward their services: And it was his maxim to raise them by slow steps, and make them first pass through the inferior sees f. He probably expected, that as they were naturally more dependant on him than the nobility, who during that age enjoyed possessions and jurisdictions dangerous to royal authority; fo the prospect of farther elevation would render them still more active in his fervice, and more obsequious to his commands.

1486. reth Jan-

King's marriage.

In presenting the bill of tonnage and poundage, the parliament, anxious to preserve the legal undisputed fuccession to the crown, had petitioned Henry, with demonstrations of the greatest zeal, to espouse the princess Elizabeth; but they covered their true reason under the dutiful pretence of their defire to have heirs of his body. He now thought in earnest of fatisfying the minds of his people in that particular. His marriage was celebrated at London, and that with greater appearance of universal joy than either his first entry or his coronation. Henry remarked with much displcasure this general favour borne to the house of York. The suspicions which arose from it not only disturbed his tranquillity during his whole reign; but bred disgust towards his consort herself, and poisoned all his domestic enjoyments. Though

f Bacon, p. 582.

virtuous, amiable, and obsequious to the last degree, C II A P. the never met with a proper return of affection, or even of complaisance from her husband; and the malignant ideas of faction still, in his sullen mind, prevailed over all the sentiments of conjugal tenderness.

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THE king had been carried along with such a tide of success ever since his arrival in England, that he thought nothing could withstand the fortune and authority which attended him. He now resolved to make a progress into the North, where the friends of the house of York, and even the partisans of Richard, were numerous; in hopes of curing, by his presence and conversation, the prejudices of the malcontents. When he arrived at Nottingham he heard that viscount Lovel, with fir Humfrey Stafford, and Thomas his brother, had fecretly withdrawn themselves from their sanctuary at Colchester: But this news appeared not to him of fuch importance as to stop his journey; and he proceeded forward to York. He there heard that the Staffords Aninfurhad levied an army, and were marching to besiege rection. the city of Worcester: And that Lovel, at the head of three or four thousand men, was approaching to attack him in York. Henry was not dismayed with this intelligence. His active courage, full of resources, immediately prompted him to find the proper remedy. Though furrounded with enemies in these disassected counties, he assembled a small body of troops in whom he could confide; and he put them under the command of the duke of Bediord. He joined to them all his own attendants; but he found that this hasty armament was more formidable by their spirit and their zealous attachment to him, than by the arms or military stores with which they were provided. He therefore gave Bedford orders not to approach the enemy; but previously to try every proper expedient to disperse them. Bedford published a general promise of pardon to the rebels; Vol. III. which

C_{HAP}, which had a greater effect on their leader than on XXIV. his followers. Lovel, who had undertaken an enterprise that exceeded his courage and capacity, was so terrified with the fear of desertion among his troops, that he fuddenly withdrew himself; and after lurking some time in Lancashire, he made his escape into Flanders, where he was protected by the dutchess of Burgundy. His army submitted to the king's clemency; and the other rebels hearing of this success, raised the siege of Worcester, and dispersed themselves. The Staffords took sanctuary in the church of Colnham, a village near Abingdon; but as it was found that this church had not the privilege of giving protection to rebels, they were taken thence: The elder was executed at Tyburn; the younger, pleading that he had been missed by, his brother obtained a pardon .

soth Sept.

HENRY's joy for this success was followed, some time after, by the birth of a prince, to whom he gave the name of Arthur, in memory of the famous British king of that name, from whom it was pretended the family of Tudor derived its descent.

Discontents of the people.

Though Henry had been able to defeat this hasty rebellion, raised by the relics of Richard's partisans, his government was become in general unpopular: The fource of public discontent arose chiefly from his prejudices against the house of York, which was generally beloved by the nation, and which for that very reason became every day more the object of his hatred and jealousy. Not only a preference on all occasions, it was observed, was given to the Lancastrians; but many of the opposite party had been exposed to great severity, and had been bereaved of their fortunes by acts of attainder. A general refumption likewise had passed of all grants made by the princes of the house of York; and though this rigour had been covered under the pretence that

the revenue was become infufficient to support the CHAP. dignity of the crown, and though the grants, during XXIV. the later years of Henry VI. were resumed by the same law, yet the York party, as they were the principal sufferers by the resumption, thought it chiefly levelled against them. The severity exercised against the earl of Warwic begat compassion for youth and innocence exposed to such oppression; and his confinement in the Tower, the very place where Edward's children had been murdered by their uncle, made the public expect a like catastrophe for him, and led them to make a comparison between Henry and that detested tyrant. And when it was remarked that the queen herself met with harsh treatment, and even after the birth of a fon was not admitted to the honour of a public coronation, Henry's prepossessions were then concluded to be inveterate, and men became equally obstinate in their disgust to his government. Nor was the manner and address of the king calculated to cure these prejudices contracted against his administration; but had in every thing a tendency to promote fear, or at best reverence, rather than goodwill and affection. While the high idea entertained of his policy and vigour, retained the nobility and men of character in obedience; the effects of his unpopular government soon appeared, by incidents of an extraordinary nature.

THERE lived in Oxford one Richard Simon, a priest, who possessed some subtlety, and still more enterprise and temerity. This man had entertained the design of disturbing Henry's government, by raising a pretender to his crown; and for that pur-Pose he cast his eyes on Lambert Simnel, a youth Lambert of fifteen years of age, who was fon of a baker, and Simnel. who, being endowed with understanding above his years, and address above his condition, seemed well

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fitted to personate a prince of Royal extraction. A report had been spread among the people, and received with great avidity, that Richard duke of York, second son of Edward IV. had, by a secret escape, saved himself from the cruelty of his uncle, and lay fomewhere concealed in England. taking advantage of this rumour, had at first in-Pructed-his pupil to assume that name, which he found to be so fondly cherished by the public: But hearing afterwards a new report, that Warwic had made his escape from the Tower, and observing that this news was attended with no lefs general fatisfaction, he changed the plan of his imposture, and made Simnel personate that unfortunate prince'. Though the youth was qualified by nature for the part which he was instructed to act; yet was it remarked, that he was better informed in circumflances relating to the royal family, particularly in the adventures of the earl of Warwic, than he could he supposed to have learned from one of Simon's condition: And it was thence conjectured, that perions of higher rank, partifans of the house of York, had laid the plan of this conspiracy, and had conveyed proper instructions to the actors. The queen-dowager herself was exposed to suspicion; and it was indeed the general opinion, however unlikely it might feem, that she had secretly given her confent to the imposlure. This woman was of a very restless disposition. Finding that instead of receiving the reward of her fervices in contributing to Henry's elevation, she herself was fallen into absolute infignificance, her daughter treated with feverity, and all her friends brought under fuhjection, she had conceived the most violent animosity against him, and had resolved to make him feel the effects of her resentment. She knew that the impostor, however successful, might easily at

last be set aside; and if a way could be found at his CHAP. risque to subvert the government, she hoped that a scene might be opened which, though dissicult at present exactly to foresee, would gratify her revenge, and be on the whole less irksome to her than that flavery and contempt to which she was now reduced.k.

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BUT whatever care Simon might take to convey instruction-to his pupil Simnel, he was sensible that the imposture would not bear a close inspection; and he was therefore determined to open the first public scene of it in Ireland. That island, which was zealously attached to the house of York, and bore an affectionate regard to the memory of Clarence, Warwic's father, who had been their heutenant, was improvidently allowed by Henry to remain in the fame condition in which he found it; and all the counfellers and officers who had been appointed by his predecessors still retained their authority. No fooner did Sinnel present himself to Thomas Fitz-gerald, earl of Kildare, the deputy, and claim his protection as the unfortunate Warwic, than that credulous nobleman, not suspecting for bold an imposture, gave attention to him, and began to confult some persons of fank with regard to this extraordinary incident. These he found even more fanguine in their zeal and belief than himself: And in proportion as the flory diffused itself among those of lower condition, it became the object of still greater passion and credulity, till the people in Dublin with one confent tendered their allegiance to Simnel, as to the true Plantagenet. Fond of a novelty, which flattered their natural propension, they overlooked the daughters of Edward IV. who stood before Warwic in the order of succession; they payed Revolt of the pretended prince attendance as their fovereign, Ireland. lodged him in the castle of Dublin, crowned him

^{*} Pelydore Virgil, p 570.

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CHAP. with a diadem taken from a statue of the Virgin, and publicly proclaimed him king, by the appellation of Edward VI. The whole island followed the example of the capital; and not a fword was any where drawn in Henry's quarrel.

> WHEN this intelligence was conveyed to the king, it reduced him to some perplexity. Determined always to face his enemies in person, he yet scrupled at present to leave England, where he suspected the conspiracy was first framed, and where he knew many persons of condition, and the people in general, were much disposed to give it countenance. In order to discover the secret source of the contrivance, and take measures against this open revolt, he held frequent confultations with his ministers and counsellors, and laid plans for a vigorous defence of his authority,

and the suppression of his enemies.

THE first event which followed these deliberations gave surprise to the public: It was the seizure of the queen-dowager, the forfeiture of all her lands and revenue, and the close confinement of her person in the nunnery of Bermondesey. This act of authority was covered with a very thin pretence. It was alleged that, notwithstanding the secret agreement to marry her daughtef to Henry, she had yet yielded to the folicitations and menaces of Richard, and had delivered that princess and her sisters into the hands of the tyrant. This crime, which was now become obsolete, and might admit of alleviations, was therefore suspected not to be the real cause of the severity with which she was treated; and men believed that the king, unwilling to accuse so near a relation of a conspiracy against him, had cloaked his vengeance or precaution under colour of an offence known to the whole world '. They were afterwards the more confirmed in this suspicion, when they found that the unfortunate queen, though she survived this dis-

Bacon, p. 583. PolydoreVirgil, p. 571.

grace several years, was never treated with any more CHAP. lenity, but was allowed to end her life in poverty, Saxiv. solitude, and confinement.

The next measure of the king's was of a less exceptionable nature. He ordered that Warwic should be taken from the Tower, be led in procession through the streets of London, be conducted to St. Paul's and there exposed to the view of the whole people. He even gave directions that some men of rank, attached to the house of York, and best acquainted with the person of this prince, should approach him, and converse with him: And he trusted that these, being convinced of the absurd imposture of Simnel, would put a stop to the credulity of the populace. The expedient had its effect in England: But in Ireland the people still persisted in their revolt, and zealously retorted on the king the reproach of propagating an imposture, and of having shewn a counterfeit Warwic to the public.

HENRY had soon reason to apprehend that the design against him-was not laid on such slight foundations as the absurdity of the contrivance seemed to indicate. John earl of Lincoln, son of John de la Pole, duke of Suffolk, and of Elizabeth, eldest fister to Edward IV. was engaged to take part in the conspiracy. This nobleman, who possessed capacity and courage, had entertained very aspiring views; and his ambition was encouraged by the known intentions of his uncle Richard, who had formed a design, in case he himself should die without issue, of declaring Lincoln successor to the crown. The king's jealousy against all eminent persons of the York party, and his rigour towards Warwic, had farther struck Lincoln with apprehensions, and made him resolve to seek for safety in the most dangerous counsels. Having fixed a secret correspondence with sir Thomas Broughton, a man of great interest in Lancashire, he retired to Flan-Y 4 ders.

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CHAP. ders, where Lovel had arrived a little before him; and he lived during some time in the court of his aunt the dutchess of Burgundy, by whom he had been invited over.

Intrigues of the dutchefs ot Bur gundy.

MARGARET, widow of Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy, not having any children of her own, attached herself, with an entire friendship, to her daughter-in-law, married to Maximilian archduke of Austria; and after the death of that princess, she persevered in her affection to Philip and Margaret her children, and occupied herself in the care of their education and of their persons. By her virtuous conduct and demeanour she had acquired great authority among the Flemings; and lived with much dignity, as well as œconomy, upon that ample dowry which she inherited from her husband. The resentments of this princess were no less warm than her friendships; and that spirit of faction, which it is so difficult for a focial and fanguine temper to guard against, had taken strong possession of her heart, and entrenched fomewhat on the probity which shone forth in the other parts of her character. Hearing of the malignant jealousy entertained by Henry against her Family, and his oppression of all its partizans, she was moved with the highest indignation, and she determined to make him repent of that enmity to which so many of her friends, without any reason or necessity, had fallen victims. After consulting with Lincoln and Lovel, she hired a body of two thousand veteran Germans, under the command of Martin Swart, a brave and experienced officer"; and fent them over, together with these two noblemen, to join Simnel in Ireland. The countenance given by persons of such high rank, and the accession of this military force, much raised the courage of the Irish, and made them entertain the resolution of invading Eng-

•Lambert Simuel in vades England.

m Polyd. Virg. p. 572, 573.

land, where they believed the spirit of disassection CHAP. as prevalent as it appeared to be in Ireland. The poverty also under which they laboured made it impossible for them to support any longer their new court and army, and inspired them with a strong defire of enriching themselves by plunder and preferment in England.

1487.

HENRY was not ignorant of these intentions of his enemies; and he prepared himself for defence. He ordered troops to be levied in different parts of the kingdom, and put them under the command of the duke of Bedford and earl of Oxford. He confined the marquis of Dorset, who he suspected would refent the injuries suffered by his mother the queen dowager: And, to gratify the people by an appearance of devotion. he made a prilgrimage to our lady of Walfingham, famous for miracles; and there offered up prayers for success, and for deliverance from his enemies.

Being informed that Sinnel was landed at Foudrey in Lancashire, he drew together his forces, and advanced towards the enemy as far as Coventry. The rebels had entertained hopes that the disaffected counties in the North would rife in their favour: But the people in general, averse to join Irish and German invaders, convinced of Lambert's impofture, and kept in awe by the king's reputation for success and conduct, either remained in tranquillity, or gave affistance to the royal army. The earl of Lincoln, therefore, who commanded the 1cbcls, finding no hopes but in victory, was determined to bring the matter to a speedy decision; and the king, supported by the native courage of his temper, and emboldened by a great accession of volunteers, who had joined him under the earl of Shrewsbury and lord Strange, declined not the combat. The hostile 6th June. armies met at Stoke in the county of Nottingham, and fought a battle, which was bloody, and more obstinately disputed than could have been expected

Battle of Stoke.

CHAP. from the inequality of their force. All the leaders of the rebels were resolved to conquer or to perish; and they inspired their troops with like resolution. The Germans also, being veteran and experienced foldiers, kept the event long doubtful; and even the Irish, though ill-armed and almost defenceless, showed themselves not desective in spirit and bravery. The king's victory was purchased with loss, but was entirely decifive. Lincoln, Broughton, and Swart, perished in the field of battle, with four thousand of their followers. As Lovel was never more heard of, he was believed to have undergone the same fate. Simnel, with his tutor Simon, was taken prisoner. Simon, being a priest, was not tried at law, and was only committed to close custody: Simnel was too contemptible to be an object either of apprehension or relentment to Henry. He was pardoned, and made a scullion in the king's kitchen; whence he was afterwards advanced to the rank of & falconer.

HENRY had now leifure to revenge himself on his enemies. He made a progress into the northern parts, where he gave many proofs of his rigorous disposition. A strict enquiry was made after those who had affisted or favoured the rebels. The puinishments were not all sanguinary: The king made his revenge subservient to his avarice. Heavy fines were levied upon the delinquents. The proceedings of the courts, and even the courts themselves, were arbitrary. Either the criminals were tried by commissioners appointed for the purpose, or they suffered punishment by a sentence of a court-martial. And, as a rumour had prevailed before the battle of Stoke, that the rebels had gained the victory, that the royal army was cut in pieces, and that the king himself had escaped by flight, Henry was resolved to interpret the belief

ⁿ Pacon, p. 586. Polyd. Virg. p. 574.

or propagation of this report as a mark of dif- c H A P. affection; and he punished many for that pretended crime. But such in this age was the situation of the English government, that the royal prerogative, which was but imperfectly restrained during the most peaceable periods, was sure, in tumultuous or even suspicious times, which frequently recurred to break all bounds of law, and to violate public liberty.

AFTER the king had gratified his rigour by the punishment of his enemies, he determined to give contentment to the people in a point which, though a mere ceremony, was passionately desired by them. The queen had been married near two years, but had not yet been crowned; and this affectation of delay had given great discontent to the public, and had been one principal source of the dissaffection which prevailed. The king, instructed by expe-25th Nov. rience, now finished the ceremony of her coronation; and, to shew a disposition still more gracious, he restored to liberty the marquis of Dorset, who had been able to clear himself of all the suspicions entertained against him.

CHAP. XXV.

State of forcign affairs—State of Scotland—of Spain-of the Low Countries-of France-of Britanny—French invasion of Britanny— French embassy to England—Dissimulation of the French court—— In insurrection in the North—— Suppressed—King sends forces into Britanny— Annexation of Britanny to France——A parliament ----War with France-Invasion of France ---Peace with France-Perkin Warbec-His imposture——He is avowed by the dutchess of Burgundy—and by many of the English nobility ---Trial and execution of Stanley-A parliament.

1488. State of foreign attairs.

CHAP. THE king acquired great reputation through-XXV. ... out Europe by the vigorous and prosperous conduct of his domestic assairs: But as some incidents about this time invited him to look abroad, and exert himself in behalf of his allies, it will be necessary, in order to give a just account of his foreign measures, to explain the situation of the neighbouring kingdoms; beginning with Scotland, which lies most contiguous.

State of Scotland.

THE kingdom of Scotland had not yet attained that state which distinguishes a civilized monarchy, and which enables the government, by the force of its laws and institutions alone, without any extraordinary capacity in the fovereign, to maintain itself in order and tranquillity. James III. who now filled

filled the throne, was a prince of little industry CHAP. and of a narrow genius; and though it behoved him to yield the reins of government to his ministers, he had never been able to make any choice which could give contentment both to himself and to his people. When he bestowed his confidence on any of the principal nobility, he found that they exalted their own family to such a height as was dangerous to the prince, and gave umbrage to the state: When he conferred favour on any person of meaner birth, on whose submission he could more depend, the barons of his kingdom, enraged at the power of an upstart minion, proceeded to the utmost extremities against their fovereign. Had Henry entertained the ambition of conquests, a tempting opportunity now offered of reducing that kingdom to subjection; but as he was probably fensible that a warlike people, 'chough they might be over-run by reason of their domestic divisions, could not be retained in obedience without a regular military force which was then unknown in England, he rather intended the renewal of the peace with Scotland, and fent an embassy to James for that purpose. But the Scots, who never desired a durable peace with England, and who deemed their fecurity to confift in constantly preserving themselves in a warlike posture, would not agree to more than a feven years truce, which was accordingly concluded.

THE European states on the continent were then hastening fast to the situation in which they have remained, without any material alteration, for near three centuries; and began to unite themselves into one extensive system of policy, which comprehended the chief powers of Christendom. Spain, which State of had hitherto been almost entirely occupied within herself, now became formidable by the union of Arragon and Castile in the persons of Ferdinand and

Spain.

C H A P. Isabella, who being princes of great capacity, entployed their force in enterprises the most advantageous to their combined monarchy. The conquest of Granada from the Moors was then undertaken, and brought near to a happy conclusion. And in that expedition the military genius of Spain was revived; honour and security were attained; and her princes, no longer kept in awe by a domestic enemy so dangerous, began to enter into all the transactions of Europe, and make a great figure in every war and negociation.

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MAXIMILIAN king of the Romans, son of the Countries. emperor Frederic, had, by his marriage with the heires of Burgundy, acquired an interest in the Netherlands; and though the death of his confort had weakened his connexions with that country, he still pretended to the government as tutor to his fon Philip, and his authority had been acknowlegded by-Brabant, Holland, and several of the provinces. But as Flanders and Hainault still refused to submit to his regency, and even appointed other tutors to Philip, he had been engaged in long wars against that obstinate people, and never was able thoroughly to subdue their spirit. That he might free himself from the opposition of France, he had concluded a peace with Lewis XI. and had given his daughter Märgaret, then an Infant, in marriage to the dauphin; together with Artois, Franche Compté, and Charolois, as her dowry. But this alliance had not produced the desired effect. The dauphin succeeded to the crown of France by the appellation of Charles VIII.; but Maximilian still found the mutinies of the Flemings fomented by the intrigues of the Court of France.

State of France.

FRANCE, during the two preceding reigns, had made a mighty increase in power and greatness; and had not other states of Europe at the same time received an accession of sorce, it had been impossible to have retained her within her ancient boundaries. Most

Most of the great fiefs, Normandy, Ghampagne, CHAP. Anjou, Dauphiny, Guienne, Provence, and Burgundy, had been united to the crown; the English had been expelled from all their conquests; the authority of the prince had been raised to such a height as enabled him to maintain law and order; a confiderable military force was kept on foot, and the finances were able to support it. Lewis XI. indeed, from whom many of these advantages were derived, was dead, and had left his fon in early youth and ill educated, to sustain the weight of the monarchy: But having entrusted the government to his daughter Anne, lady of Beaujeu, a woman of spirit and capacity, the French power suffered no check or decline. On the contrary, this princess formed the great project, which at last she happily effected, of uniting to the crown Britanny, the last and most independent sief of the monarchy.

Francis II. duke of Britanny, conscious of his Of Britanown incapacity for government, had refigned himself to the direction of Peter Landais, a man of mean birth, more remarkable for abilities than for virtue or integrity. The nobles of Britanny, displeased with the great advancement of this favourite, had even proceeded todissaffection against their sovereign; and after many tumults and disorders, they at last united among themselves, and in a violent manner seized, tried, and put to death the obnoxious minister. Dreading the resentment of the prince for this invasion of his authority, many of them retired to France; others, for protection and fafety, maintained a secret correspondence with the French ministry, who, observing the great dissensions among the Bretons, thought the opportunity favourable for invading the dutchy; and so much the rather, as they could cover their ambition under the specious pretence of providing for domestic security.

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Lewis duke of Orleans, first prince of the blood, and presumptive heir of the monarchy, had disputed the administration with the lady of Beaujeu; and though his pretentions had been rejected by the states, he still maintained cabals with many of the grandees, and laid schemes for subverting the authority of that princess. Finding his conspiracies detected, he took to arms, and fortified himself in Beaugenci; but as his revolt was precipitate, before his confederates were ready to join him, he had been obliged to submit, and to receive such conditions as the French ministry were pleased to impose upon him. ated, however, by his ambition, and even by his fears, he soon retired out of France, and took shelter with the duke of Britanny, who was desirous of strengthening himself against the designs of the lady of Beaujeu, by the friendship and credit of the duke of Orleans. This latter prince, also perceiving the ascendant which he soon acquired over the duke of Britanny, had engaged many of his partisans to join him at that court, and had formed the design of aggrandifing himself by a marriage with Anne, the heir of that opulent dutchy.

THE barons of Britanny, who saw all favour engrossed by the duke of Orleans and his train, renewed a stricter correspondence with France, and even invited the French king to make an invasion on their country. Desirous, however, of preserving its independency, they had regulated the number of fuccours which France was to fend them, and had stipulated that no fortified place in Britanny should remain in the possession of that monarchy: A vain precaution where revolted subjects treat with a power French in- fo much superior! The French invaded Britanny with forces three times more numerous than those which they had promised to the barons; and advancing into the heart of the country, laid siege to To oppose them, the duke raised a Ploermel. numerous but ill-disciplined army, which he put under

valion of Britanny.

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under the command of the duke of Orleans, the CHAP. count of Dunois, and others of the French nobility. The army, discontented with his choice, and jealous of their confederates, soon disbanded, and left their prince with too small a force to keep the field against his invaders. He retired to Vannes; but being hotly purfued by the French, who had now made themselves masters of Ploermel, he escaped to Nantz; and the enemy, having previously taken and garrisoned Vannes, Dinant, and other places, laid close siege to that city. The barons of Britanny, finding their country menaced with total subjection, began gradually to withdraw from the French army, and to make peace with their fovereign.

This defertion, however, of the Bretons discouraged not the court of France from pursuing her favourite project of reducing Britanny to subjection. The fituation of Europe appeared favourable to the execution of this defign. Maximilian was indeed engaged in close alliance with the duke of Britanny, and had even opened a treaty for marrying his daughter; but he was on all occasions so indigent, and at that time so disquicted by the mutinics of the Flemings, that little effectual affiftance could be him. Ferdinand was entirely ocex! cupied in the conquest of Grenada; and it was also known, that if France would refign to him Roufillon and Cerdagne to which he had pretentions, the could at any time engage him to abandon the interest of Britanny. England alone was both enabled by her power, and engaged by her interests, to support the independency of that dutchy; and the most dangerous opposition was therefore, by Anne of Beaujeu, expected from that quarter. In order to cover her real defigns, no sooner was she informed of Henry's fuccess against Simnel and his partisans, than she dispatched ambassadors to the court of London, and made professions of the greatest trust and confidence in that monarch.

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embaffy to
England.

THE ambassadors, after congratulating Henry on his late victory, and communicating to him, in the most cordial manner, as to an intimate friend, some fuccesses of their master against Maximilian, came in the progress of their discourse to mention the late transactions in Britanny. They told him, that the duke having given protection to French fugitives and rebels, the king had been necessitated, contrary to his intention and inclination, to carry war into that dutchy: That the honour of the crown was interested not to suffer a vassal so far to forget his duty to his liege lord; nor was the security of the government less concerned to prevent the consequences of this dangerous temerity: That the fugitives were no mean or obscure persons; but, among others, the duke of Orleans, first prince of the blood, who, finding himself obnoxious to justice for treasonable practices in France, had fled into Britanny; where he still persevered in laying schemes of rebellion against his sovereign: That the war being thus, on the part of the French monarch, entirely defensive, it would immediately cease, when the duke of Britanny, by returning to his duty, should remove the causes of it: That their master was sensible of the obligations which the duke in very critical times had conferred on Henry; but it was known also, that in times still more critical, he or his mercenary counsellors had deferted him, and put his life in the utmost hazard: That his sole refuge in these desperate extremities had been the court of France, which not only protected his perfon, but supplied him with men and money, with which, aided by his own valour and conduct, he had been enabled to mount the throne of England: That France in this transaction had, from friendship to Henry, acted contrary to what in a narrow view might be esteemed her own interest; since, instead of an odious tyrant, she had contributed to establish on a rival throne a prince endowed with fuch virtue and abilities: And that as both the justice of the CHAP. cause, and the obligations conferred on Henry, XXV. thus preponderated on the side of France, she reasonably expected that, if the situation of his affairs did not permit him to give her assistance, he would at least preserve a neutrality between the contending parties p.

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This discourse of the French ambassadors was plausible; and to give it greater weight, they communicated to Henry, as in confidence, their master's intention, after he should have settled the differences with Britanny, to lead an army into Italy, and make good his pretensions to the kingdom of Naples: A project which they knew would give no umbrage to the court of England. But all these artifices were in vain employed against the penetration of the king. He clearly saw that France had entertained the view of subduing Britanny; but he also perceived, that she would meet with great, and, as he thought, insuperable difficulties in the execution of her project. The native force of that dutchy, he knew, had always been confiderable, and had often, without any foreign assistance, resisted the power of France; the natural temper of the French nation, he imagined, would make them easily abandon any enterprize which required perseverance; and as the heir of the crown was confederated with the duke of Britanny, the ministers would be still more remiss in profecuting a scheme which must draw on them his resentment and displeasure. Should even these internal obstructions be removed, Maximilian, whose enmity to France was well known, and who now paid his addresses to the heiress of Britanny; would be able to make a diversion on the side of Flanders; nor could it be expected that France, if she prosecuted fuch ambitious projects, would be allowed to remain in tranquillity by Ferdinand and Isabella.

C H A P. Above all. he thought the French court could never expect that England, so deeply interested to preserve the independency of Britanny, so able by her power and situation to give effectual and prompt asfistance, would permit such an accession of force to her rival. He imagined, therefore, that the ministers of France, convinced of the impracticability of their scheme, would at last embrace pacific views, and would abandon an enterprise so obnoxious to all the potentates of Europe.

This reasoning of Henry was solid, and might justly engage him in dilatory and cautious measures: But there entered into his conduct another motive, which was apt to draw him beyond the just bounds, because founded on a ruling passion. His frugality, which by degrees degenerated into avarice, made him averse to all warlike enterprises and distant expeditions, and engaged him previously to try the expedient of negotiation. He dispatched Urswic his almoner, a man of address and abilities, to make offer of his mediation to the contending parties: An offer which he thought, if accepted by France, would foon lead to a composure of all differences; if refused or eluded, would at least discover the perseverance of that court in her ambitious projests. Urswic sound the lady of Beaujeu, now dutchess of Bourbon, engaged in the siege of Nantz, and had the farisfaction to find that his master's offer of mediation was readily embraced, and with many Difficulty expressions of confidence and moderation. That able princess concluded, that the duke of Orleans, who governed the court of Britanny, forefeeing that every accommodation must be made at his expence, would use all his interest to have Henry's proposal rejected; and would by that means make an apology for the French measures, and draw on the Bretons the reproach of obstinacy and injustice. The event justified her prudence. When the Eng-

lish ambassador made the same offer to the duke of

Britanny,

tion of the French cour

Britanny, he received for answer, in the name of CHAP. that prince, that having so long acted the part of XXV. protector and guardian to Henry during his youth and adverse fortune, he had expected from a monurch of such virtue, more effectual assistance in his present distresses, than a barren offer of mediation, which suspended not the progress of the French arms: That if Henry's gratitude were not sufficient to engage him in such a measure, his prudence, as king of England, should discover to him the pernicious consequences attending the conquest of Britanny, and its annexation to the crown of France: That that kingdom, already too powerful. would be enabled, by so great an accession of force, to display, to the ruin of England, that hostile dispofition which had always subsisted between those rival nations: That Britanny, so useful an ally, which, by its situation, gave the English an entrance into the heart of France, being annexed to that kingdom, would be equally enabled, from its situation, to disturb, either by piracies or naval armaments, the commerce and peace of England: And that, if the duke rejected Henry's mediation, it proceeded neither from an inclination to a war which he experienced to be ruinous to him, nor from a confidence in his own force, which he knew to be much inferior to that of the enemy; but, on the contrary, from a sense of his present necessities, which must engage the king to act the part of his confederate, not that of a mediator.

WHEN this answer was reported to the king, he phandoned not the plan which he had formed: He only concluded, that fome more time was requisite to quell the obslinacy of the Bretons, and make them submit to reason. And when he learned that the people of Britanny, anxious for their duke's fafety, had formed a tumultuary army of 60,000 men, and had obliged the French to raise the siege of Nantz, he fortified himself the more in his opinion, CHAP XXV. 1488.

opinion, that the court of France would at last be reduced, by multiplied obstacles and difficulties, to abandon the project of reducing Britanny to fubjection. He continued therefore his scheme of negotiation, and thereby exposed himself to be deceived by the artifices of the French ministry; who, still pretending pacific intentions, sent lord Bernard Daubigny, a Scotchman of quality, to London, and pressed Henry not to be discouraged in offering his mediation to the court of Britanny. The king, on his part, dispatched another embassy, consisting of Urswic the abbot of Abingdon, and sir Richard Tonstal, who carried new proposals for an amicable treaty. No effectual succours, meanwhile, were provided for the distressed Bretons. Woodwille, brother to the queen dowager, having asked leave to raise underhand a body of volunteers, and to transport them into Britanny, met with a refusal from the king, who was desirous of preserving the appearance of a strict neutrality. That nobleman, however, still persisted in his purpose. He went over to the Isle of Wight, of which he was governor; levied a body of 400 men; and having at last obtained, as is supposed, the secret permission of Henry, sailed with them to Britanny. 28th July. This enterprise proved fatal to the leader, and brought small relief to the unhappy duke. The Bretons rashly engaged in a general action with the French at St. Aubin, and were discomsited. Woodwille and all the English were put to the sword; together with a body of Bretons, who had been accoutred in the garb of Englishmen, in order to strike a greater terror into the French, to whom the martial prowess of that nation was always formidable 4. The duke of Orleans, the prince of Orange, and many other persons of rank. were taken prisoners: And the military force of Britanny was totally broken.

The death of the duke, which followed soon after, CHAP. threw affairs into still greater confusion, and seemed XXV. to threaten the state with a final subjection.

Though the king did not prepare against these 9th Sept. events, so hurtful to the interests of England, with sufficient vigour and precaution, he had not altogether overlooked them. Determined to maintain a pacific conduct, as far as the situation of assairs would permit, he yet knew the warlike temper of his subjects, and observed, that their ancient and inveterate animosity to France was now revived by the prospect of this great accession to her power and grandeur. He resolved therefore to make advantage of this disposition, and draw some supplies from the people, on pretence of giving assistance to the duke of Britanny. He had funmoned a parliament at Westminster; and he soon persuaded them to grant him a confiderable subsidy. But this supply, though voted by parliament, involved the king in unexpected difficulties. The counties of Durham and York, always discontented with Henry's government, and farther provoked by the late oppressions, under which they had laboured, after the suppression of Simnel's rebellion, resisted the commissioners who were appointed to levy the tax. The commissioners, terrified with this ap- An insurpearance of fedition, made application to the earl rection in the North, of Northumberland, and defired of him advice and assistance in the execution of their office. That nobleman thought the matter of importance enough to confult the king; who, unwilling to yield to the humours of a discontented populace, and foreseeing the pernicious consequence of such a precedent, renewed his orders for strictly levying the imposition. Northumberland summoned together the justices and chief freeholders, and delivered the king's commands

⁵ Polydore Virgil. p. 579, fays, ¹ 9th November 1487. that this imposition was a capitation tax; the other historians say, it was a tax of two shillings in the pound-

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CHAP. in the most imperious terms, which, he thought, would enforce obedience, but which tended only to provoke the people, and make them believe him the adviser of those orders which he delivered to them '. They flew to arms, attacked Northumberland in his house, and put him to death. Having incurred such deep guilt, their mutinous humour prompted them to declare against the king himself; and being instigated by John Achamber, a seditious fellow of low birth, they chose sir John Egremond their leader, and prepared themselves for a vigorous resistance. Henry was not dismayed with an insurrection so precipitate and ill-supported. He immediately levied a force, which he put under the command of the earl of Surrey, whom he had freed from confinement and received into favour. His intention was to fend down these troops, in order to check the progress of the rebels; while he himfelf should follow with a greater body, which would absolutely insure success. But Surrey thought himfelf strong enough to encounter alone a raw and unarmed multitude; and he succeeded in the attempt. The rebels were diffipated; John Achamber was taken prisoner, and afterwards executed with fome of his accomplices; fir John Egremond fled to the dutchess of Burgundy, who gave him protestion; the greater number of the rebels received a pardon.

fuppress Ed.

> HENRY had probably expected, when he obtained this grant from parliament, that he should be able to terminate the affair of Britanny by negotiation, and that he might thereby fill his coffers with the money levied by the imposition. But as the distresses of the Bretons still multiplied, and became every day more urgent; he found himself under the necessity of taking more vigorous meafures, in order to support them. On the death of

*the duke, the French had revived some antiquated CHAP. claims to the dominion of the dutchy; and as the duke of Orleans was now captive in France, their former pretence for hostilities could no longer serve as a cover to their ambition. The king resolved, therefore, to engage as auxiliary to Britanny; and to consult the interests as well as desires of his people, by opposing himself to the progress of the French power. Besides entering into a league with Maximilian, and another with Ferdinand, which were distant resources, he levied a body of troops to the number of 6000 men, with an intention of transporting them into Britanny. Still anxious, however, for the repayment of his expences, he concluded a treaty with the young dutchess, by which she engaged to deliver into his hands two sea-port towns, there to remain till she should entirely refund the charges of the armament". Though he engaged for the fervice of thefe troops during the space of ten months only, yet was the dutchess obliged, by the necessity of her affairs, to submit to fuch rigid conditions, imposed by an ally so much concerned in interest to protect her. The forces King sends arrived under the command of lord Willoughby of forces into Broke; and made the Bretons, during some time, matters of the field. The French retired into their garrifons; and expected, by dilatory measures, to walle the fire of the English, and disgust them with the enterprise. The scheme was well laid, and met with fuccess. Lord Broke found such discord and confusion in the counsels of Britanny, that no measures could be concerted for any undertaking; no supply obtained; no provisions, carriages, artillery, or military stores procured. The whole court was rent into factions: No one minister had acquired the ascendant: And whatever project was

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u Du Tillet, Recueil des Traités.

C H A P. formed by one, was fure to be traversed by another. The English, disconcerted in every enterprise by these animosities and uncertain counsels, returned home as foon as the time of their service was elapsed; leaving only a small garrison in those towns which had been configned into their hands. During their stay in Britanny, they had only contributed still farther to waste the country; and by their departure, they left it entirely at the mercy of the enemy. So feeble was the succour which Henry, in this important conjuncture, afforded his ally, whom the invasion of a foreign enemy, concurring with domestic dissensions, had reduced to the utmost distress.

> THE great object of the domestic dissensions in Britanny was the disposal of the young dutchess in marriage. The mareschal Rieux, favoured by Henry, seconded the suit of the lord d'Albret, who led some forces to her assistance. The chancellor Montauban, observing the aversion of the dutchess to this suitor, insisted that a petty prince, such as d'Albret, was unable to support Anne in her present extremities; and he recommended some more powerful alliance, particularly that of Maximilian king of the Romans. This party at last prevailed; the marriage with Maximilian was celebrated by proxy; and the dutchess thenceforth assumed the title of Queen of the Romans. But this magnificent appellation was all she gained by her marriage. Maximilian, destitute of troops and money, and embarraffed with the continual revolts of the Flemings, could send no succour to his distressed consort; while d'Albret, enraged at the preference given to his rival, deserted her cause, and received the French into Nantz, the most important place in the dutchy, both for strength and riches.

THE French court now began to change their scheme with regard to the subjection of Britanny. Charles had formerly been affianced to Margaret daughter

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daughter of Maximilian; who, though too young CHAP. for the confummation of her marriage, had been fent to Paris to be educated, and at this time bore the title of Queen of France. Besides the rich dowry which she brought the king, she was, after her brother Philip, then in early youth, heir to all the do-minions of the house of Burgundy; and seemed, in many respects, the most proper match that could be chosen for the young monarch. These circumstances had so blinded both Maximilian and Henry, that they never suspected any other intentions in the French court; nor were they able to discover that engagements, feemingly fo advantageous, and fo folemnly entered into, could be infringed and fet aside. But Charles began to perceive that the conquest of Britanny, in opposition to the natives, and to all the great powers of Christendom, would prove a difficult enterprise; and that even if he should over-run the country, and make himself master of the fortresses, it would be impossible for him long to retain possession of them. The marriage alone of the dutchess could fully reannex that ficf to the crown; and the present and certain enjoyment of so confiderable a territory seemed preserable to the prospect of inheriting the dominions of the house of Burgundy; a prospect which became every day more distant and precarious. Above all, the marriage of Maximilian and Anne appeared destructive to the grandeur, and even security, of the French monarch; while that prince, possessing Flanders on the one hand, and Britanny on the other, might thus, from both quarters, make inroads. into the heart of the country. The only remedy for these evils was therefore concluded to be the dissolution of the two marriages, which had been celebrated, but not consummated; and the espousal of the dutchess of Britanny by the king of France.

Ir was necessary that this expedient, which had not been forescen by any court in Europe, and which

they.

CHAP. they were all so much interested to oppose, should be kept a profound secret, and should be discovered to the world only by the full execution of it. The measures of the French ministry in the conduct of this delicate enterprise were wife and political. While they pressed Britanny with all the rigours of war, they fecretly gained the count of Dunois, who possessed great authority with the Brotons; and having also engaged in their interests the prince of Orange, cousin-german to the dutchess, they gave him his liberty, and sent him into Britanny. These partifans, supported by other emissaries of France, prepared the minds of men for the great revolution projected, and displayed, though fill with many precautions, all the advantages of a union with the French monarchy. They represented to the barons of Britanny, that their country, harassed during so many years with perpetual war, had need of some repose, and of a solid and lasting peace with the only power that was formidable to them: That their alliance with Maximilian was not able to afford them even present protection; and, by closely uniting them to a power which was rival to the greatness of France, fixed them in perpetual enmity with that potent monarchy: That their vicinity exposed them first to the inroads of the enemy; and the happiest event which, in such a situation could befal them, would be to attain a peace, though by a final subjection to France, and by the loss of that liberty transmitted to them from their ancestors: And that any other expedient, compatible with the honour of the state, and their duty to their sovereign, was preferable to a scene of such disorder and devastation.

> THESE suggestions had influence with the Bretons: But the chief difficulty lay in furmounting the prejudices of the young dutchess herself. That princess had imbibed a strong prepossession against the French nation, particularly against Charles, the author

author of all the calamities which, from her earliest CHAP. infancy, had befallen her family. She had also fixed her affections on Maximilian; and as she now deemed him her husband, she could not, she thought, without incurring the greatest guilt, and violating the most solemn engagements, contract a marriage with any other person. In order to overcome her obstinacy, Charles gave the duke of Orleans his liberty, who, though formerly a fuitor to the dutchess, was now contented to ingratiate himfelf with the king, by employing in his favour all the interest which he still possessed in Britanny. Mareschal Rieux and chancellor Montauban were reconciled by his mediation; and these rival ministers now concurred with the prince of Orange and the count of Dunois, in pressing the conclusion of a marriage with Charles. By their fuggestion, Charles advanced with a powerful army, and invested Rennes, at that time the residence of the dutchess; who, affailed on all hands, and, finding none to support her in her inflexibility, at last opened the gates of the city, and agreed to espouse the king of France. She was married at Langey in Touraine; Annexa-conducted to St. Dennis, where she was crowned; Britanny thence made her entry into Paris, amidst the joyful to France. acclamations of the people, who regarded this marriage as the most prosperous event that could have befallen the monarchy.

THE triumph and success of Charles was the most sensible mortification to the king of the Romans. He had lost a considerable territory, which he thought he had acquired, and an accomplished princess, whom he had espoused; he was affronted in the person of his daughter Margaret, who was sent back to him after she had been treated, during some years, as queen of France; he had reason to reproach himself with his own supine security, in neglecting the confummation of his marriage, which XXV. 1490.

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CHAP. was easily practicable for him, and which would have rendered the tye indisfoluble: These considerations threw him into the most violent rage, which he vented in very indecent expressions; and he threatened France with an invasion from the united arms of Austria, Spain, and England.

THE king of England had also just reason to reproach himself with misconduct in this important transaction; and though the affair had terminated in a manner which he could not precifely foresee, his negligence in leaving his most useful ally so long exposed to the invasion of superior power, could not but appear, on reflexion, the result of timid caution and narrow politics. As he valued himself on his extensive foresight and profound judgment, the ascendant acquired over him by a raw youth such as Charles, could not but give him the highest displeasure, and prompt him to seek vengeauce, after all remedy for his miscarriage was become absolutely impracticable. But he was farther actuated by avarice, a motive still more predominant with him than either pride or revenge; and he fought, even from his present disappointments, the gratisi-7th July. cation of this ruling passion. On pretence of a French war, he issued a commission for levying a Benevolence on his people"; a species of taxation which had been abolished by a recent law of Richard III. This violence (for such it really was) fell chiefly on the commercial part of the nation, who were possessed of the ready money. London alone contributed to the amount of near 10,000 pounds. Archbishop Morton, the chancellor, instructed the commissioners to employ a dilemma, in which every one might be comprehended: If the persons applied to lived frugally, they were told that their par-

[&]quot; Rymer, vol. xii. p. 446. Bacon fays that the benevolence was levied with confent of parliament, which is a mistake.

simony must necessarily have enriched them: If their CHAP. method of living were splendid and hospitable, they were concluded to be opulent on account of their expences. This device was by some called chancellor Morton's fork, by others his crutch.

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So little apprehensive was the king of a parliament on account of his levying this arbitrary imposition, that he soon after summoned that assembly to meet at Westminster; and he even expected to 27th Ost.

enrich himself farther by working on their passions and prejudices. He knew the displeasure which the English had conceived against France on account of the acquisition of Britanny; and he took care to insist on that topic, in the speech which he himself pronounced to the parliament. He told them A parlia-

that France, elated with her late successes, had even proceeded to a contempt of England, and had refused to pay the tribute which Lewis XI. had stipulated to Edward IV.: That it became fo warlike a nation as the English to be roused by this indignity, and not to limit their pretentions merely to repelling

the present injury: That, for his part, he was determined to lay claim to the crown itself of France, and to maintain by force of arms so just a title, transmitted to him by his gallant ancestors: That -

Crecy, Poictiers, and Azincour, were sufficient to instruct them in their superiority over the enemy; nor did he despair of adding new names to the glorious catalogue: That a king of France had been

prisoner in London, and a king of England had been crowned at Paris; events which should animate them to an emulation of like glory with that

which had been enjoyed by their forefathers: That the domestic dissensions of England had been the sole cause of her losing these foreign dominions; and

her present internal union would be the effectual means of recovering them: That where such lasting

honour was in view, and fuch an important acquisition, it became not brave men to repine at the

advance _

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CHAP. advance of a little treasure: And that, for his part, he was determined to make the war maintain itself; and hoped, by the invasion of so opulent a kingdom as France, to increase, rather than diminish, the riches of the nation w.

Notwithstanding these magnificent vaunts of the king, all men of penetration concluded, from the personal character of the man, and still more from the situation of affairs, that he had no serious intention of pushing the war to such extremities as he pretended France was not now in the same condition as when fuch fuccessful inroads had been made upon her by former kings of England. The great fiefs were united to the crown; the princes of the blood were desirous of tranquillity; the nation abounded with able captains and veteran foldiers; and the general aspect of her assairs seemed rather to threaten her neighbours, than to promise them any confiderable advantages against her. The levity and vain-glory of Maximilian were supported by his pompous titles; but were ill seconded by miltary power, and still less by any revenue proportioned to them. The politic Ferdinand, while he made a show of war, was actually negotiating for peace; and, rather than expose himself to any hazard, would accept of very moderate concessions from France. Even England was not free from domestic discontents; and in Scotland, the death of Henry's friend and ally James III. who had been murdered by his rebellious subjects, had made way for the succession of his son James IV. who was devoted to the French interest, and would furely be alarmed at any important progress of the English But all these obvious considerations had no influence on the parliament. Inflamed by the ideas of subduing France, and of enriching themselves by the spoils of that kingdom, they gave into the snare

prepared for them, and voted the supply which the CHAP. king demanded. Two fifteenths were granted him; and the better to enable his vassals and nobility to attend him, an act was passed, empowering them to fell their estates, without paying any fines for alienation.

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THE nobility were univerfally seized with a desire of military glory; and having credulously swallowed all the boasts of the king, they dreamed of no less than carrying their triumphant banners to the gates of Paris, and putting the crown of France on the head of their sovereign. Many of them borrowed large fums, or fold off manors, that they might appear in the field with greater splendour, and lead out their followers in more complete order. The 6th Oct. king crossed the sea, and arrived at Calais on the France. fixth of October, with an army of twenty-five thoufand foot and fixteen hundred horse, which he put under the command of the duke of Bedford and the earl of Oxford: But as some inferred, from his opening the campaign in so late a season, that peace would soon be concluded between the crowns, he was desirous of suggesting a contrary inference. "He had come over," he said, "to make an en-

" tire conquest of France, which was not the work " of one fummer. It was therefore of no conse-" quence at what feason he began the invasion; " especially as he had Calais ready for winter-quar-

" ters." As if he had seriously intended this enterprife, he instantly marched into the enemy's country, and laid fiege to Bulloigne: But notwithstand- Invasion of ing this appearance of hostility, there had been se- France. cret advances made towards peace above three months before; and commissioners had been appointed to treat of the terms. The better to reconcile the minds of men to this unexpected meafure, the king's ambassadors arrived in the camp from the Low Countries, and informed him that Vol. III. Maxi-A a

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Maximilian was in no readiness to join him; nor was any affiftance to be expected from that quarter. Soon after meilengers came from Spain, and brought news of a peace concluded between that kingdom and France, in which Charles had made a ceifion of the counties of Routhllon and Cerdagne to Ferdinand. Though these articles of intelligence were carefully dispersed throughout the army, the king was still apprehensive lest a sudden peace, after fuch magnificent promises and high expectations, might expose him to reproach. In order the more effectually to cover the intended measures, he secretly engaged the marquis of Dorset, together with twenty-three persons of distinction, to present him a petition for agreeing to a treaty with France. The pretence was founded on the late season of the year, the difficulty of supplying the army at Calais during winter, the obstacles which arose in the siege of Bulloigne, the defertion of those allies whose affiftance had been most relied on: Events which might, all of them, have been foreseen before the embarkation of the forces.

3d Nov. Peace with France.

In consequence of these preparatory steps, the bishop of Exeter and lord Daubeny were sent to confer at Estaples with the mareschal de Cordes, and to put the last hand to the treaty. A few days sufficed for that purpose: The demands of Henry were wholly pecuniary; and the king of France, who deemed the peaceable possession of Britanny an equivalent for any fum, and who was all on fire for his projected expedition into Italy, readily agreed to the proposals made him. He engaged to pay Henry 745,000 crowns, near 400,000 pounds sterling of our present money; partly as a reimbursement of the sums advanced to Britanny, partly as arrears of the pension due to Edward IV. And he stipulated a yearly pension to Henry and his heirs of 25,000 crowns. Thus, the king, as remarked

marked by his historian, made prosit upon his subjects for the war; and upon his enemies for the peace. And the people agreed that he had subsilied his promise, when he said to the parliament that he would make the war maintain itself. Maximilian was, if he pleased, comprehended in Henry's treaty; but he distained to be in any respect beholden to an ally of whom he thought he had reason to complain: He made a separate peace with France, and obtained restitution of Artois, Franche-compté, and Charolois, which had been ceded as the dowry of his daughter when she was assistanced to the king of France.

THE peace concluded between England and France was the more likely to continue, because Charles, full of ambition and youthful hopes, bent all his attention to the fide of Italy, and foon after undertook the conquest of Naples; an enterprise which Henry regarded with the greater indifference, as Naples lay remote from him, and France had never in any age been successful in that quarter. The king's authority was fully established at home; and every rebellion which had been attempted against him had hitherto tended only to confound his enemies, and consolidate his power and influence. reputation for policy and conduct was daily augment. ing; his treasures had increased even from the most unfavourable events; the hopes of all pretenders to his throne were cut off, as well by his marriage as by the issue which it had brought him. In this prosperous situation the king had reason to flatter himself with the prospect of durable peace and tranquillity: But his inveterate and indefatigable enemies, whom he had wantonly provoked, raised him an adverfary, who long kept him in inquietude, and sometimes even brought him into danger.

^{*} Bacon, p. 605. Polyd. Virg. p. 585.

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The dutches of Burgundy, full of resentment for the depression of her family and its partisans, rather irritated than discouraged by the ill success of her past enterprises, was determined, at least, to disturb that government which she found it so distinct to subvert. By means of her emissaries she propagated a report that her nephew Richard Plantagenet, duke of York, had escaped from the Tower when his elder brother was murdered, and that he still lay some where concealed: And finding this rumour, however improbable, to be greedily received by the people, she had been looking out for some young man proper to personate that unfortunate prince.

Perkin Warbec.

THERE was one Office, or Warbee, a renegado Jew of Tournay, who had been carried by some business to London in the reign of Edward IV. and had there a fon born to him. Having had opportunities of being known to the king, and obtaining his favour, he prevailed with that prince, whose manners were very affable, to fland godfather to his fon, to whom he gave the name of Peter, corrupted, after the Flemish manner, into Peterkin, or Perkin. It was by some believed that Edward, among his amorous adventures, had a fecret commerce with Warbec's wife; and people thence accounted for that refemblance which was afterwards remarked between young Perkin and that monarch r. Some years after the birth of this child Warbec returned to Tournay; where Perkin his fon did not long remain, but by different accidents was carried from place to place, and his birth and fortunes became thereby unknown, and difficult to be traced by the most diligent inquiry. The variety of his adventures had happily favoured the natural versatility and sagacity of his genius; and he seemed to be a youth perfectly fitted to act any part, or assume any character.

this light he had been represented to the dutchess of CHAP. Burgundy, who, struck with the concurrence of so many circumstances suited to her purpose, desired to be made acquainted with the man on whom she already began to ground her hopes of success. found him to exceed her most fanguine expectations; fo comely did he appear in his person, so His imgraceful in his air, so courtly in his address, so full posture. of docility and good fense in his behaviour and conversation. The lessons necessary to be taught him, in order to his personating the duke of York, were foon learned by a youth of fuch quick apprehension; but as the season seemed not then favourable for his enterprise, Margaret, in order the better to conceal him, fent him, under the care of lady Brampton, into Portugal, where he remained a year, unknown to all the world.

THE war, which was then ready to break out between France and England, seemed to afford a proper opportunity for the discovery of this new phænomenon; and Ireland, which still retained its attachments to the house of York, was chosen as the proper place for his first appearance. He landed at Corke; and immediately assuming the name of Richard Plantagenet, drew to him partiians among that credulous people. He wrote letters to the earls of Defmond and Kildare, inviting them to join his party: He dispersed every where the strange intelligence of his escape from the cruelty of his uncle Richard: And men, fond of every thing new and wonderful, began to make him the general subject of their discourse, and even the object of their favour.

THE news foon reached France; and Charles, prompted by the secret solicitations of the dutchess of Burgundy, and the intrigues of one Frion, a se-

Polyd. Virg. p. 589.

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CHAP cretary of Henry's, who had deserted his service. fent Perkin an invitation to repair to him at Paris. He received him with all the marks of regard due to the duke of York; settled on him a handsome pension, assigned him magnificent lodgings, and in order to provide at once for his dignity and fecurity, gave him a guard for his person, of which lord Congrefal accepted the office of captain. The French courtiers readily embraced a fiction which their fovereign thought it his interest to adopt: Perkin, both by his deportment and personal qualities, supported the prepossession which was spread abroad of his royal pedigree: And the whole kingdom was full of the accomplishments, as well as the fingular adventures and misfortunes of the young Plantagenet. Wonders of this nature are commonly augmented at a distance. From France the admiration and credulity diffused themselves into England: Sir George Nevil, fir John Taylor, and above a hundred gentlemen more, came to Paris, in order to offer their fervices to the supposed duke of York, and to there his fortunes: And the impostor had now the appearance of a court attending him, and began to entertain hopes of final fuccess in his undertakings.

> • When peace was concluded between France and England at Estaples, Henry applied to have Perkin put into his hands; but Charles, resolute not to betray a young man, of whatever birth, whom he had invited into his kingdom, would agree only to difmiss him. The pretended Richard retired to the dutchels of Burgundy, and craving her protection and affiftance, offered to lay before her all the proofs of that birth to which he laid claim. The princels affected ignorance of his pretentions; even put on the appearance of distrust; and having, as she said, been already deceived by Simnel, the was determined never again to be seduced by any impostor. She de-

He is arowed by the dutch ef of Burgundy,

fired

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fred before all the world to be instructed in his rea- C H A P. fons for affuming the name which he bore; feemed ______ to examine every circumstance with the most scrupulous nicety; put many particular questions to him; affected aftonishment at his answers; and at last, after long and severe scrutiny, burst out into joy and admiration at his wonderful deliverance, embraced him as her nephew, the true image of Edward, the fole heir of the Plantagenets, and the legitimate fucceifor to the English throne. She immediately assigned him an equipage suited to his pretended birth; appointed him a guard of thirty halberdiers; engaged every one to pay court to hir; and on all occasions honoured him with the appellation of the White Rose of England. The Flemings, moved by the authority which Margaret, both from her rank and personal character enjoyed among them, readily ad pred the fiction of Perkin's royal defeant: No surmise of his true birth was as yet heard of: Little contradiction was made to the prevailing opinion: And the English, from their great communication with the Low Countries, were every day more and more prepossessed in favour of the impostor.

IT was not the populace alone of England that gave credit to Perkin's pretentions. Men of the highest birth and quality, disgusted at Henry's government, by which they found the nobility depressed, began to turn their eyes towards the new claimant; and some of them even entered into a correspondence with him. Lord Fitzwater. 1ir Simon Mountfort, and by fir Thomas Thwaites, betrayed their inclination to- many of wards him: Sir William Stanley himselt, lord cham- lish nobiberlain, who had been so active in raising Henry to lity. the throne, moved either by blind credulity or a restless ambition, entertained the project of a revolt in favour of his enemy . Sir Robert Clifford and William Barley were still more open in their meafures: They went over to Flanders, were introduced

* Bacou, p. 608.

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C H A P. by the dutchess of Burgundy to the acquaintance of Perkin, and made him a tender of their services. Clifford wrote back to England, that he knew perfeelly the person of Richard duke of York, that this young man was undoubtedly that prince himself, and that no circumstance of his story was exposed to the least difficulty. Such positive intelligence, conveyed by a person of rank and character, was fusicient, with many, to put the matter beyond question, and excited the attention and wonder even of the most indifferent. The whole nation was held in suspence; a regular conspiracy was formed against the king's authority; and a correspondence settled between the malcontents in Flanders and those in England.

THE king was informed of all these particulars; but agreeably to his character, which was both cautious and refolute, he proceeded deliberately, though steadily, in counter-working the projects of his enemies. His first object was to ascertain the death of the real duke of York, and to consirm the opinion that had always prevailed with regard to that event. Five persons had been employed by Richard in the murder of his nephews, or could give evidence with regard to it; fir James Tirrel, to whom he had committed the government of the Tower for that purpose, and who had feen the dead princes; Forrest, Dighton, and Slater, who perpetrated the crime; and the priest who buried the bodies. Tirrel and Dighton alone were alive, and they agreed in the same story; but as the priest was dead, and as the bodies were supposed to have been removed by Richard's orders, from the place where they were first interred, and could not now be found, it was not in Henry's power to put the fact, so much as he wished, beyond all doubt and controverfy.

He met at first with more difficulty, but was in the end more successful in detecting who this wonderful person was that thus boldly advanced preten-

fions

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sions to his crown. He dispersed his spies all over C HAP. Flanders and England; he engaged many to pre- XXV. tend that they had embraced Perkin's party; he directed them to infinuate themselves into the considence of the young man's friends; in proportion as they conveyed intelligence of any conspirator, he bribed his retainers, his domestic servants, nay, fometimes his confessor, and by these means traced up some other consederate; Clifford himself he engaged, by the hope of rewards and pardon, to betray the fecrets committed to him; the more trust he gave to any of his spies, the higher resentment did he feign against them; some of them he even caused to be publicly anathematised, in order the better to procure them the confidence of his enemies: And in the issue, the whole plan of the conspiracy was clearly laid before him; and the pedigree, adventures, life, and conversation of the pretended duke of York. This latter part of the story was immediately published for the satisfaction of the nation: The conspirators he reserved for a slower and furer vengeance.

MEANWHILE he remonstrated with the archduke Philip, on account of the countenance and protection which was afforded in his dominions to so infamous an impoltor; contrary to treaties subsiding between the fovereigns, and to the mutual amity which had so long been maintained by the subjects of both states. Margaret had interest enough to get his application rejected; on pretence that Philip had no authority over the demesnes of the dutches dowager. And the king, in refentment of this injury, cut off all commerce with the Low Countries, banished the Flemings, and recalled his own subjects from these provinces. Philip retaliated by like edicts; but Henry knew, that so mutinous a people as the Flemings would not long bear, in compliance with the humours of their prince, to be deprived

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CHAT. deprived of the beneficial branch of commerce which

they carried on with England.

He had it in his power to inflict more effectual punishment on his domestic enemies; and when his projects were fulliciently matured, he failed not to make them feel the effects of his retentment. Almost in the same instant he arrested Fitzwater, Mountfort, and Thwaites, together with William Daubeney, Robert Ratcliff, Thomas Cressenor, and Thomas Astwood. All these were arraigned, convicted, and condemned for high treason, in adhering and promising aid to Perkin. Mountfort, Ratcliff, and Daubeney, were immediately executed; Fitzwater was sent over to Calais, and detained in custody; but being detected in practifing on his keeper for an escape, he soon after underwent the same tate. The rest were pardoned, together with William Worseley dean of St. Paul's, and some others, who had been accused and examined, but not brought to public trial ".

GREATER and more folemn preparations were deemed requifits for the trial of Stanley, lord chamberlain, whose authority in the nation, whose domestic connexions with the king, as well as his former fervices, feemed to fecure him against any accusation or punishment. Clissord was directed to come over privately to England, and to throw himfelf at the king's feet while he fat in council; craving pardon for past offences, and offering to attone for them by any fervices which should be required of Henry then told him, that the best proof he could give of penitence, and the only service he could now render him, was the full confession of his guilt, and the discovery of all his accomplices, however distinguished by rank or character. Encouraged by this exhortation, Clifford accused Stanley, then pre-

b l'olydore Virgil, p. 592.

fent, as his chief abettor; and offered to lay before CHAP. the council the full proof of his guilt. Stanley himfelf could not discover more surprise than was affected by Henry on the occasion. He received the intelligence as absolutely false and incredible; that a man, to whom he was in a great measure beholden for his crown, and even for his life; a man to whom by every honour and favour he had endeavoured to express his gratitude; whose brother, the earl of Derby, was his own father-in-law; to whom he had even committed the trust of his person, by creating him lord chamberlain: That this man, enjoying his full considence and assection, not actuated by any motive of discontent or apprehension, should engage in a conspiracy against him. Clissord was therefore exharted to weigh well the confequences of his accufation; but as he perfifted in the same positive asseverations, Stanley was committed to custody, and was foon after examined before the council c. He denied not the guilt imputed to him by Clifford; he did not even endeavour much to extenuate it; whether he thought that a frank and open confession would serve as an atonement, or trusted to his present connexions and his sermer services for . pardon and fecurity. But princes are often apt to Trial and regard great services as a ground of jealousy, espe-execution of Stanley. cially if accompanied with a craving and restless disposition in the person who has persormed them. The general discontent also, and mutinous humour of the people, seemed to require some great example of feverity. And as Stanley was one of the most opulent subjects in the kingdom, being possessed of above three thousand pounds a year in land, and forty thousand marks in plate and money, besides other property of great value, the prospect of so rich a forfeiture was deemed no finall motive for Henry's proceeding to extremities against him. After six 15th Feb.

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C HAP. weeks delay, which was interposed in order to shew that the king was restrained by doubts and scruples; the prisoner was brought to his trial, condemned, and presently after beheaded. Historians are not agreed with regard to the crime which was proved against him. The general report is, that he should have said in confidence to Clifford, that if he were fure the young man who appeared in Flanders was really fon to king Edward, he never would bear arms against him. The sentiment might disgust Henry, as implying a preference of the house of York to that of Lancaster; but could scarcely be the ground, even in those arbitrary times, of a sentence of high treason against Stanley. It is more probable, therefore, as is afferted by fome historians, that he had expressly engaged to affift Perkin, and had actually fent him some supply of money.

THE fate of Stanley made great impression on the kingdom, and struck all the partisans of Perkin with the deepest dismay. From Clissord's desertion they found that all their fecrets were betrayed; and as it appeared that Stanley, while he feemed to live in the greatest confidence with the king, had been continually surrounded by spies, who reported and registered every action in which he was engaged, nay, every word which fell from him, a general diftrust took place, and all mutual considence was destroyed, even among intimate friends and acquaintance. The jealous and severe temper of the king, together with his great reputation for fagacity and penetration, kept men in awe, and quelled not only the movements of sedition, but the very murmurs of faction. Libels, however, creeped out against Henry's person and administration; and being greedily propagated by every secret art, shewed that there still remained among the people a confiderable root of discontent, which wanted only a proper opportunity to discover itself.

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But Henry continued more intent on increasing C H A P. the terrors of his people, than on gaining their affections. Trusting to the great success which attended him in all his enterprises, he gave every day more and more a loose to his rapacious temper, and employed the arts of perverting law and justice, in order to exact fines and compositions from his people. Sir William Capel, alderman of London, was condemned on some penal statutes to pay the sum of 2743 pounds, and was obliged to compound for fixteen hundred and fifteen. This was the first noted case of the kind; but it became a precedent, which prepared the way for many others. The management, indeed of these arts of chicanery, was the great secret of the king's administration. While he depressed the nobility, he exalted and honoured and caressed the lawyers; and by that means both bestowed authority on the laws, and was enabled, whenever he pleased, to pervert them to his own advantage. His government was oppressive; but it was fo much the less burdensome, as by his extending royal authority, and curbing the nobles, he became in reality the fole oppressor in his kingdom.

As Perkin found that the king's authority daily. gained ground among the people, and that his own pretensions were becoming obsolete, he resolved to attempt fomething which might revive the hopes and expectations of his partifans. Having collected a band of outlaws, pirates, robbers, and necessitous persons of all nations, to the number of 600 men, he put to sea, with a resolution of making a descent in England, and of exciting the common people to arms, fince all his correspondence with the nobility was cut off by Henry's vigilance and Everity. formation being brought him that the king had made a progress to the north, he cast anchor on the coast of Kent, and sent some of his retainers ashore, who invited the country to join him. The gentlemen of Kent assembled some troops to oppose him; but they •

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CHAP. they purposed to do more essential service than by repelling the invasion: They carried the semblance of friendship to Pcrkin, and invited him to come himself ashore, in order to take the command over them. But the wary youth, observing that they had more order and regularity in their movements than could be supposed in new levied forces who had taken arms against established authority, refused to entrust himself into their hands; and the Kentish troops, despairing of success in their stratagem, fell upon such of his retainers as were already landed; and besides some whom they slew, they took a hundred and fifty prisoners. These were tried and condemned; and all of them executed by orders from the king, who was resolved to use no lenity towards men of fuch desperate fortunes d.

A Parliament.

This year a parliament was summoned in England, and another in Ireland; and some remarkable laws were passed in both countries. The English parliament enacted, that no person who should by arms or otherwise affist the king for the Time being, should ever afterwards, either by course of law or act of parliament, be attainted for such an inslance of obedience. This flatute might be exposed to some censure, as favourable to usurpers; were there any precise rule which always, even during the most factious times, could determine the true successor, and render every one inexcufable who did not submit to him. But as the titles of princes are then the great subject of dispute, and each party pleads topics in its own favour, it seems but equitable to secure those who act in support of public tranquillity, an object at all times of undoubted benefit and import-Henry, conscious of his disputed title, proance. moted this law, in order to secure his partisans against all events; but as he had himself observed a contrary practife with regard to Richard's ad-

d Polydore Virgil, p. 595.

herents, he had reason to apprehend, that during CHAP. the violence which usually ensues on public convulsions, his example rather than his law would, in case of a new revolution, be followed by his enemies. And the attempt to bind the legislature itself, by prescribing rules to future parliaments, was contradictory to the plainest principles of political government.

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This parliament also passed an act, empowering the king to levy, by course of law, all the sums which any person had agreed to pay by way of benevolence: A statute by which that arbitrary method of taxation was indirectly authorised and justified.

THE king's authority appeared equally prevalent and uncontrolled in Ireland. Sir Edward Poynings had been fent over to that country, with an intention of quelling the partitans of the house of York, and of reducing the natives to subjection. He was not supported by forces sufficient for that enterprise: The Irish, by flying into their woods and morasses and mountains, for sometime eluded his efforts: But Poynings lummoned a parliament at Dublin, where he was more successful. He passed that memorable statute, which still bears his name, and which establishes the authority of the English government in Ireland. By this statute all the fornter laws of England were made to be of force in Ireland; and no bill can be introduced into the Irish parliament, unless it previously receive the sanction of the council of England. This latter clause seems calculated for ensuring the dominion of the English; but was really granted at the desire of the Irish commons, who intended by that means to fecure themselves from the tyranny of their lords, particularly of such lieutenants or deputies as were of Irish birth °.

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While Henry's authority was thus established throughout his dominions, and general tranquillity prevailed, the whole continent was thrown into combustion by the French invasion of Italy, and by the rapid fuccess which attended Charles in that rash and ill-concerted enterprise. The Italians, who had intirely lost the use of arms, and who, in the midst of continual wars, had become every day more unwarlike, were astonished to meet an enemy, that made the field of battle not a pompous tournament, but a scene of blood, and sought, at the hazard of their own lives, the death of their enemy. Their effeminate troops were dispersed every where on the approach of the French army: Their best fortified cities opened their gates: Kingdoms and states were in an instant overturned: And through the whole length of Italy, which the French penetrated without resistance, they seemed rather to be taking quarters in their own country than making conquelts over an enemy. The maxims which the Italians during that age followed in negotiations, were as ill calculated to support their states as the habits to which they were addicted in war: A treacherous, deceitful, and inconfistent system of politics prevailed; and even those small remains of fidelity and honour, which were preserved in the councils of the other European princes, were ridiculed in Italy as proofs of ignorance and rusticity. Ludovico duke of Milan, who invited the French to invade Naples, had never defired or expected their fuccess; and was the first that felt terror from the prosperous issue of those projects which he himself had concerted. By his intrigues a league was formed among several potentates to oppose the progress of Charles's conquests, and secure their own independency. This league was composed of Ludovico himself, the pope, Maximilian king of the Romans, Ferdinand of Spain, and the republic of Venice. Henry too entered into the confederacy; but was not put to any expence or trouble in consequence CHAP. of his engagements. The king of France, terri- XXV. fied by so powerful a combination, retired from Naples with the greater part of his army, and returned to France. The forces which he left in his new conquest were, partly by the revolt of the inhabitants, partly by the invasion of the Spaniards, foon after subdued; and the whole kingdom of Naples suddenly returned to its allegiance under Ferdinand, son to Alphonso, who had been sud-. denly expelled by the irruption of the French. Ferdinand died soon after; and left his uncle Frederic in full possession of the throne.

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CHAP. XXVI.

Perkin retires to Scotland—Infurrection in the Weeker ——Battle of Blackheath—Truce with Scotland ——Perkin taken prisoner—Perkin executed ——The carl of Warwick executed—Marriage of prince Arthur with Catharine of Arragon——His death—Marriage of the princess Margaret with the king of Scotland—Oppressions of the people——Intrigues of the carl of Suffelk——Sickness of the king—Ilis death—and character—His lates.

2 H A P. XXVI.

FTER Perkin was repulsed from the coast of Kent, he retired into Flanders; but as he found it impossible to procure subsistence for himfelf and his followers while he remained in tranquillity, he foon after made an attempt upon Ireland, which had always appeared forward to join every invader of Henry's authority. But Poynings had now put the affairs of that island in so good a posture, that Perkin met with little success; and being tired of the favage life which he was obliged to lead while skulking among the wild Irish, he bent his course towards Scotland, and presented himself to James IV. who then governed that kingdom. He had been previously recommended to this prince by the king of France, who was difgusted at Henry for entering into the general league against him; and this recommendation was even feconded by Maximilian, who, though one of the confederates, was also displeased with the king on account of his

his prohibiting in England all commerce with the CHAP. Low Countries. The countenance given to Perkin, by these princes procured him a favourable reception with the king of Scotland, who assured him, Perkin rethat whatever he were, he never should repent put- Scotland. ting himself in his hands f: The infinuating address and plausible behaviour of the youth himself seem to have gained him credit and authority. James, whom years had not yet taught distrust or caution, was feduced to believe the story of Perkin's birth and adventures; and he carried his confidence fo far as to give him in marriage the lady Catharine Gordon, daughter of the earl of Huntiey, and related to himself; a young lady too, eminent for virtue as well as beauty.

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THERE subfished at that time a great jealousy between the courts of England and Scotland; and James was probably the more forward on that account to adopt any fiction which he thought might reduce his enemy to distress or disticulty. He suddenly resolved to make an inroad into England, attended by some of the borderers; and he carried Perkin along with him, in hopes that the appearance of the pretended prince might raise an insurrection in the northern counties. Perkin himself dispersed a manisesto, in which he set forth his own story, and craved the affistance of all his subjects in expelling the usurper, whose tyranny and mal-administration, whose depression of the nobility by the elevation of mean persons, whose oppression of the people by multiplied impositions and vexations, had justly, he said, rendered him odious to all men. But Perkin's pretenfions, attended with repeated disappointments, were now become stale in the eyes even of the populace; and the hostile dispositions which subsisted between the kingdoms rendered a prince, supported by the Scots, but an unwelcome

& Bacon, p. 615. Polydore Virgil, p. 596, 597.

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present

CHAP. present to the English nation. The ravages also XXVI. committed by the borderers, accustomed to licence and disorder, struck a terror into all men; and made the people prepare rather for repelling the invaders than for joining them. Perkin, that he might support his pretensions to royal birth, feigned great compassion for the misery of his plundered subjects; and publicly remonstrated with his ally against the depredations exercised by the Scottish army e: But James told him, that he doubted his concern was employed only in behalf of an enemy, and that he was anxious to preserve what never should belong to him. That prince now began to perceive that his attempt would be fruitless; and hearing of an army which was on its march to attack him, he thought proper to retreat into his own country.

THE king discovered little anxiety to procure either reparation or vengeance for this insult committed on him by the Scottish nation: His chief concern was to draw advantage from it, by the pretence which it might afford him to levy impositions on his own subjects. He summoned a parliament, to whom he made bitter complaints against the irruption of the Scots; the abfurd imposture countenanced by that nation, the cruel devastations committed in the northern counties, and the multiplied infults thus offered both to the king and kingdom of England. The parliament made the expected return to this discourse, by granting a fubfidy to the amount of 120,000 pounds, together with two fifteenths. After making this grant, they were dismissed.

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THE vote of parliament for imposing the tax was without much difficulty procured by the authority but he found it not so easy, to levy the money upon his subjects. The people, who were

⁸ Polydore Virgil, p. 598.

acquainted with the immense treasures which he had C H A P. Ted, could ill brook the new impositions raised XXVI. very flight occasion; and it is probable that Oi. th flaw, which was univerfally known to be in his title. made his reign the more subject to insurrections and rebellions. When the subsidy began to Insurrections are subsidered to the subs be levied in Cornwal, the inhabitants, numerous tion in the and poor, robult and courageous, murmured against a tax occasioned by a sudden inroad of the Scots, from which they esteemed themselves entirely secure, and which had usually been repelled by the force of the northern counties. Their ill-humour was farther incited by one Michael Joseph, a farrier of Bodmin, a notable prating fellow, who, by thrusting himself forward on every occasion, and being loudest in every complaint against the government, had acquired an authority among those rude people. Thomas Flammoc too, a lawyer, who had become the oracle of the neighbourhood, encouraged the sedition, by informing them that the tax, though imposed by parliament, was entirely illegal; that the northern nobility were bound by their tenures to defend the nation against the Scots; and that if these new impositions were tamely submitted to, the avarice of Henry and of his ministers would foon render the burden intolerable to the nation. The Cornish, he said, must deliver to the king a petition, feconded by such a force as would give it authority; and, in order to procure the concurrence of the rest of the kingdom, care must be taken, by their orderly deportment, to shew that they had nothing in view but the public good, and the redress of all those grievances under which the people had fo long laboured.

ENCOURAGED by these speeches, the multitude flocked together, and armed themselves with axes, bills, bows, and such weapons as country people are usually possessed of. Flammoc and Joseph were chosen their leaders. They soon conducted the Bb3 Cornish

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C II A P. Cornish through the County of Devon, and reached that of Somerset. At Taunton the rebels killed, in their fury, an officious and eager commissioner of the subsidy, whom they called the provost of Perin. When they reached Wells, they were joined by lord Audley, a nobleman of an ancient family, popular in his deportment, but vain, ambitious, and restless in his temper. He had from the beginning maintained a secret correspondence with the first movers of the insurrection; and was now joyfully received by them as their leader. Proud of the countenance given them by so considerable a nobleman, they continued their march; breathing destruction to the king's ministers and favourites, particularly to Morton, now a cardinal, and fir Reginald Bray, who were deemed the most active instruments in all his oppressions. Notwithstanding their rage against the administration, they carefully followed the directions given them by their leaders; and as they met with no resistance, they committed, during their march, no violence or diforder.

> THE rebels had been told by Flammoc, that the inhabitants of Kent, as they had ever, during all ages, remained unsubdued, and had even maintained their independence during the Norman conquest, would furely embrace their party, and declare themselves for a cause which was no other than that of public good and general liberty. But the Kentish people had very lately diffinguished themselves by repelling Perkin's invafion; and as they had received from the king many gracious acknowledgments for this service, their affections were, by that means, much conciliated to his government. It was easy, therefore, for the earl of Kent, lord Abergavenny, and lord Cobham, who possessed great authority in thole parts, to retain the people in obedience; and the Cornish rebels, though they pitched their camp near Eltham, at the very gates of London, and invited all the people to join them, got reinforcement from

from no quarter. There wanted not discontents CHAP. every where, but no one would take part in so rash and ill-concerted an enterprise; and besides, the situation in which the king's assairs then stood, dis-

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couraged even the boldest and most daring. HENRY, in order to oppose the Scots, had already levied an army, which he put under the command of lord Daubeney the chamberlain; and as foon as he heard of the Cornish insurrection, he ordered it to march fouthwards, and suppress the rebels. Not to leave the northern frontier defenceless, he dispatched thither the earl of Surrey, who affembled the forces on the borders, and made head against the enemy. Henry found here the concurrence of the three most fatal incidents that can befal a monarchy; a foreign enemy, a domestic rebellion, and a pretender to his crown; but he enjoyed great refources in his army and treasure; and still more, in the intrepidity and courage of his own temper. He did not, however, immediately give full scope to his military spirit. On other occasions, he had always hastened to a decision; and it was a usual faying with him, that he defired but to fee his rebels: But as the Cornish musineers behaved in an inoffensive manner, and committed no spoil on the country; as they received no accession of force on their march or in their encampment; and as such hafty and popular tumults might be expected to diminish every moment by delay; he took post in London, and assiduously prepared the means of enfuring victory. •

AFTER all his forces were collected, he tlivided Battle of them into three bodies, and marched out to assail Black-heath. the enemy. The first body commanded by the earl of Oxford, and under him by the earls of Essex and Suffolk, were appointed to place themselves behind the hill on which the rebels were encamped: The fecond and most considerable, Henry put under the command of lord Daubency, and ordered him

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CHAP. him to attack the enemy in front, and bring on the action. The third he kept as a body of reserve about his own person, and took post in St. George's fields; where he secured the city, and could easily, as occasion served, either restore the fight or finish the victory. To put the enemy off their guard, he had spread a report that he was not to attack them till some days after; and the better to confirm them in this opinion, he began not the action till near the evening. Daubeney beat a detachment of the rebels from Deptford bridge; and before the main body could be in order to receive him, he had gained the ascent of the hill, and placed himself in array before them. They were formidable from their numbers, being fixteen thousand strong, and were not defective in valour; but being tumultuary troops, ill armed, and not provided with cavalry or artillery, they were but an unequal match for the king's forces. Daubeney began the attack with courage, and even with a contempt of the enemy, which had almost proved fatal to him. He rushed into the midst of them, and was taken prisoner; but soon after was released by his own troops. After some resistance, the rebels were broken, and put to flight ". Lord Audley, Flammoc, and Joseph, their leaders, were taken, and all three executed. The latter seemed even to exult in his end, and boasted with a preposterous ambition, that he should make a figure in history. The rebels, being surrounded on every fide by the king's troops, were almost all made prisoners, and immediately dismissed without farther punishment: Whether that Henry was satisfied with the victims who had fallen in the field, and who amounted to near two thousand, or that he pitied the ignorance and simplicity of the multitude, or favoured them on account of their inoffensive behaviour, or was pleased that they had

never, during their insurrection, disputed his title, CHAP. and had shewn no attachment to the house of York, the highest crime, of which, in his eyes, they could have been guilty.

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THE Scottish king was not idle during these commotions in England. He levied a considerable army, and fat down before the castle of Norham in Northumberland; but found that place, by the precaution of Fox bishop of Durham, so well provided both with men and ammunition, that he made little or no progress in the siege. Hearing that the . earl of Surrey had collected some forces, and was advancing upon him, he retreated into his own country, and left the frontiers exposed to the inroads of the English general, who besieged and took Aiton, a small castle lying a few miles beyond Berwic. These unsuccessful or frivolous attempts on both sides prognosticated a speedy end to the war; and Henry, notwithstanding his superior force, was no less defirous than James of terminating the differences between the nations. Not to depart, however, from his dignity, by making the first advances, he employed in this friendly office Peter Hialas, a man of address and learning, who had come to him as ambassador from Ferdinand and Isabella, and who was charged with a commission of negotiating the marriage of the infanta Catherine their daughter, with Arthur prince of Wales i.

HIALAS took a journey northwards, and offered his mediation between James and Henry, as minister of a prince who was in alliance with both potentates. Commissioners were soon appointed to meet, and confer on terms of accommodation. The first demand of the English was, that Perkin should be put into their hands: James replied, that he himself. was no judge of the young man's pretensions, but having received him as a supplicant, and XXVI. 1497-

CHAP promised him protection, he was determined not to betray a man who had trusted to his good faith and his generofity. The next demand of the English met with no better reception: They required reparation for the ravages committed by the late inreads into England: The Scottish commissioners replied, that the spoils were like water spilt upon the ground, which could never be recovered, and that Henry's subjects were better able to bear the loss, than their master's to repair it. Henry's commislioners next proposed, that the two kings should have an interview at Newcastle, in order to adjust all differences; but James faid, that he meant to treat of a peace, not to go a begging for it. Lest the conferences should break off altogether without effect, a truce was concluded for some months; and James, perceiving that, while Perkin remained in Scotland, he himselt never should enjoy a solid peace with Henry, privately defired him to depart the kingdom.

Truce w in Scot. Lind.

> Access was now barred Perkin into the Low Countries, his usual retreat in all his disappointments. The Flemish merchants, who severely felt the loss resulting from the interruption of commerce with England, had made such interest in the archduke's council, that commissioners were sent to London, in order to treat of an accommodation. The Flemish court agreed, that all English rebels should be excluded the Low Countries; and in this prohibition the demesnes of the dutchess-dowager were expressly comprehended. When this principal article was agreed to, all the other terms were easily adjusted. A treaty of commerce was finished, which was favourable to the Flemings, and to which they long gave the appellation of Intercursus'magnus, the great treaty. And when the English merchants returned to their usual abode at Antwerp, they were publicly received, as in procession, with joy and testivity.

PERKIN was a Fleming by descent, though boyn CHAP. in England; and it might therefore be doubted, XXVI. whether he were included in the treaty between the two nations: But as he must dismiss all his English retainers, if he took shelter in the Low Countries, and as he was fure of a cold reception, if not bad utage, among people who were determined to keep on terms of friendship with the court of England; he thought fit rather to hide himself, during some time, in the wilds and fastnesses of Ireland. Impatient, however, of a retreat, which was both difagrecable and dangerous, he held confultations with his followers, Herne, Skelton, and Astley, three broken tradefmen: By their advice, he resolved to try the affections of the Cornish, whose mutinous disposition, notwithstanding the king's lenity, still sublisted, after the suppression of their rebellion. No fooner did he appear at Bodmin in Cornwal, than the populace, to the number of three thoufand, flocked to his standard; and Perkin, elated with this appearance of fuccess, took on him, for the first time, the appellation of Richard IV. King of England, Not to suffer the expectations of his followers to languish, he presented himself before Exeter; and, by many fair promises, invited that city to join him. Finding that the inhabitants shut their gates against him, he laid siege to the place; but being unprovided with artillery, ammunition, and every thing requisite for the attempt, he made no progress in his undertaking. Messengers were sent to the king, informing him of this infurrection: The citizens of Exeter, meanwhile, were determined to hold out to the last extremity, in expectation of receiving succour from the well-known vigilance of that monarch.

WHEN Henry was informed that Perkin was landed in England, he expressed great joy, and prepared himself with alacrity to attack him, in hopes of being able, at length, to put a period to preten-

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CHAP. sions which had so long given him vexation and XXVI. inquietude. All the courtiers, sensible that their activity on this occasion would be the most acceptable service which they could render the king, difplayed their zeal for the enterprize, and forwarded his preparations. The lords Daubeney and Broke, with fir Rice ap Thomas, hastened forward with a small body of troops to the relief of Exeter. The earl of Devonshire, and the most considerable gentlemen in the county of that name, took arms of their own accord, and marched to join the king's generals. The duke of Buckingham put himself at the head of a troop, confisting of young nobility and gentry, who served as volunteers, and who longed for an opportunity of displaying their courage and their loyalty. The king himself prepared to follow with a confiderable army; and thus all England seemed united against a pretender who had at first engaged their attention, and divided their affections.

> Perkin, informed of these great preparations, immediately raised the siege of Exeter, and retired to Taunton. Though his followers now amounted to the number of near seven thousand, and seemed still resolute to maintain his cause, he himself despaired of success, and secretly withdrew to the sanctuary of Beaulieu in the new forest. The Cornish rebels submitted to the king's mcrcy, and found that it was not yet exhausted in their behalf. cept a few persons of desperate fortunes who were executed, and some others who were severely fined, all the rest were dismissed with impunity. Lady Catharine Gordon, wife to Perkin, fell into the hands of the victor, and was treated with a generosity which does him honour. He soothed her mind with many marks of regard, placed her in a reputable station about the queen, and assigned her a pension, which she enjoyed even under his successor.

HENRY deliberated what course to take with CHAP. Perkin himself. Some counselled him to make the XXVI. privileges of the church yield to reasons of state, to take him by violence from the fanctuary, to inflict on him the punishment due to his temerity, and thus at once put an end to an imposture which had long disturbed the government, and which the credulity of the people, and the artifices of malcontents, were still capable of reviving. But the king deemed not the matter of such importance as to merit so violent a remedy. He employed some persons to deal with Perkin, and persuade him, under promise of pardon, to deliver himself into the king's hands 1. The king conducted him, in a species of mock triumph, to London. As Perkin Perkin passed along the road, and through the streets of taken prithe city, men of all ranks flocked about him, and the populace treated with the highest derision his fallen fortunes. They seemed desirous of revenging themselves, by their insults, for the shame which their former belief of his impostures had thrown upon them. Though the eyes of the nation were generally opened with regard to Perkin's real parentage, Henry required of him a confession of his life and adventures; and he ordered the account of the whole to be dispersed, soon after, for the satisfaction of the public. But as his regard to decency made him entirely suppress the share which the dutchess of Burgundy had had in contriving and conducting the imposture, the people, who knew that she had been the chief instrument in the whole affair, were inclined, on account of the silence on that head, to pay the less credit to the authenticity of the narrative.

Bur Perkin, though his life was granted him, was still detained in custody; and keepers were ap-

1499

CHAP. pointed to guard him. Impatient of confinement, he broke from his keepers, and flying to the fanctuary of Shyne, put himself into the hands of the prior of that monastery. The prior had obtained great credit by his character of fanctity; and he prevailed on the king again to grant a pardon to Perkin. But in order to reduce him to still greater contempt, he was set in the stocks at Westminster and Cheapside, and obliged in both places to read aloud to the people the confession which had formerly been published in his name. He was then confined to the Tower, where his habits of restless intrigue and enterprise followed him. He infinuated himself into the intimacy of four servants of fir John Digby, lieutenant of the Tower; and, by their means, opened a correspondence with the earl of Warwic, who was confined in the same prison. This unfortunate prince, who had, from his earliest youth, been shut up from the commerce of men, and who was ignorant even of the most common affairs of life, had fallen into a simplicity, which made him susceptible of any impression. The continued dread also of the more violent essels of Henry's tyranny, joined to the natural love of liberty, engaged him to embrace a project for his escape, by the murder of the lieutenant; and Perkin offered to conduct the whole enterprise. The conspiracy escaped not the king's vigilance: It was even very generally believed that the scheme had been laid by himself, in order to draw Warwic and Perkin into the snare: But the subsequent execution of two of Digby's 'servants for the contrivance seems to clear the king of that imputation, which was indeed founded more on the general idea entertained of his character than on any positive evidence.

Perkin, by this new attempt, after so many enormities, had rendered himself totally unworthy

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of mercy; and he was accordingly arraigned, core CHAP. demned, and soon after hanged at Tyburn, persisting still in the confession of his imposture m. It happened about that very time, that one Wilford, a cordwainer's son, encouraged by the surprising credit given to other impostures, had undertaken to personate the earl of Warwic; and a priest had even ventured from the pulpit to recommend his cause to the people, who seemed still to retain a propensity to adopt it. This incident served Henry as a pretence for his feverity towards that prince. He was brought to trial, and accused not of contriving his escape (for as he was committed for no crime, the defire of liberty must have been regarded as natural and innocent), but of forming deligns to disturb the government, and raise an insurrection among the people. 'Warwie confessed the indict- The cart ment, was condemned, and the fentence was exe- of Warcuted upon him.

cuted.

21st Nov.

This violent act of tyranny, the great blemish of Henry's reign, by which he destroyed the last remaining male of the line of Plantagenet, begat great discontent among the people, who saw an unhappy prince, that had long been denied all the privileges of his high birth, even been cut off from the common benefits of nature, now at last deprived of life itself, merely for attempting to shake off that oppression under which he laboured. In vain did Henry endeavour to alleviate the odium of this guilt, by sharing it with his ally Ferdinand of Arragon, who, he faid, had scrupled to give his daughter Catherine in marriage to Arthur, while any male descendant of the house of York remained. Men, on the contrary, felt higher indignation at seeing a young prince sacrificed, not to law and justice, but to the jealous politics of two subtle and crafty tyrants.

CHAP. BUT though these discontents festered in the minds of men, they were so checked by Henry's watchful policy and steady severity, that they seemed not to weaken his government; and foreign princes, deeming his throne now entirely secure, paid him rather the greater deference and attention. The archduke Philip, in particular, defired an interview with him; and Henry, who had passed over to Calais, agreed to meet him in St. Peter's church near that city. The archduke, on his approaching the king, made haste to alight, and offered to hold Henry's stirrup; a mark of condescension which that prince would not admit of. He called the king father, patron, protector; and, by his whole behaviour, expressed a strong desire of conciliating the friendship of England. The duke of Orleans had fucceeded to the crown of France by the appellation of Lewis XII. and having carried his arms into Italy, and subdued the dutchy of Milan, his progress begat jealousy in Maximilian, Philip's father, as well as in Ferdinand, his father-in-law. By the counsel, therefore, of these monarchs, the young prince endeavoured by every art to acquire the amity of Henry, whom they regarded as the chief counterpoise to the greatness of France. No particular plan, however, of alliance seems to have been concerted between these two princes in their interview: All passed in general professions of affection and regard; at least, in remote projects of a closer union, by the future intermarriages of their childten, who were then in a state of infancy.

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THE pope too, Alexander VI. neglected not the friendship of a monarch whose reputation was spread over Europe. He sent a nuntio into England, who exhorted the king to take part in the great alliance projected for the recovery of the Holy Land, and to lead in person his forces against the infidels. The general frenzy for crusades was now entirely exhausted

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exhausted in Europe; but it was still thought a me- CHAP. cessary piece of decency to pretend zeal for those pious enterprises. Henry regretted to the nuntio the distance of his situation, which rendered it inconvenient for him to expose his person in defence of the Christian cause. He promised, however, his utmost assistance by aids and contributions; and rather than the pope should go alone to the holy wars, unaccompanied by any monarch, he even promised to overlook all other confiderations, and to attend him in person. He only required as a necessary condition, that all differences should previously be adjusted among Christian princes, and that some sea-port towns in Italy should be consigned to him for his retreat and security. It was easy to conclude, that Henry had determined not to intermeddle in any war against the Turk: But as a great name, without any real affistance, is sometimes of service, the knights of Rhodes, who were at that time esteemed the bulwark of Christendom, chose the king protector of their order.

Bur the prince whose alliance Henry valued the most, was Ferdinand of Arragon, whose vigorous and steady policy, always attended with success, had rendered him in many respects the most considerable monarch in Europe. There was also a remarkable similarity of character between these two princes: Both were full of crast, intrigue, and design; and though a resemblance of this nature be a slender foundation for confidence and amity, where the interests of the Parties in the least interfere; such was the situation of Henry and Ferdinand, that no jealoufy ever on any occasion arose between them. The king had now the fatisfaction of completing a mar- Mirriage riage, which had been projected and negotiated during the course of seven years, between Arthur with Caprince of Wales, and the Infanta Catherine, fourth daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella; he near sixteen ath Nov. years.

1501. of prince Arthur therine of Arragon.

Cc Vol. III.

XXVI. 1502. 7d April. His death.

CHAP. years of age, she eighteen. But this marriage proved in the issue unprosperous. The young prince a few months after sickened and died, much regretted by the nation. Henry, desirous to continue his alliance with Spain, and also unwilling to restore Catherine's dowry, which was two hundred thousand ducats, obliged his fecond fon Henry, whom he created prince of Wales, to be contracted to the Infanta. The prince made all the opposition of which a youth of twelve years of age was capable; but as the king persisted in his resolution, the espousals were at length, by means of the pope's dispensation, contracted between the parties: An event which was afterwards attended with the most important confequences.

Marriage of the princel-Margaret with the king of Scotland.

THE same year another marriage was celebrated, which was also in the next age productive of great events: The marriage of Margaret, the king's elder daughter, with James king of Scotland. This alliance had been negotiated during three years, though interrupted by feveral broils; and Henry hoped, from the completion of it, to remove all source of discord with that neighbouring kingdom, by whose animosity England had so often been infested. When this marriage was deliberated on in the English council, some objected that England might, by means of that alliance, fall under the dominion of Scotland. "No," replied Henry, "Scotland in that event will only become an ac-" cession to England." Amidst these prosperous incidents the king met with a domestic calamity which made not such impression on him as it merited: His queen died in child-bed; and the infant did not long survive her. This princess was deservedly a favourite of the nation; and the general affection for her increased, on account of the harsh treatment which it was thought she met with from her confort.

1503. 11th i eb.

XXVI.

1503.

THE situation of the king's affairs, both at home CHAP. and abroad, was now in every respect very forturate. All the efforts of the European princes, both in war and negotiation, were turned to the fide of Italy; and the various events which there arose made Henry's alliance be courted by every party, yet interested him so little as never to touch him with concern or anxiety. His close connections with Spain and Scotland ensured his tranquillity; and his continued successes over domestic enemies, owing to the prudence and vigour of his conduct, had reduced the people to entire submission and obedience. Uncon- Opprestrolled, therefore, by apprehension or opposition of sions of any kind, he gave full scope to his natural propenfity; and avarice, which had ever been his ruling passion, being increased by age and encouraged by absolute authority, broke all restraints of shame or justice. He had found two ministers, Empson and Dudley, perfectly qualified to second his rapacious and tyrannical inclinations, and to prey upon his defenceless people. These instruments of oppression were both lawyers; the first of mean birth, of brutal manners, of an unrelenting temper; the second better born, better educated, and better bred, but equally unjust, severe, and inslexible. By their knowledge in law these men were qualified to pervert the forms of justice to the oppression of the innocent; and the formidable authority of the king supported them in all their iniquities.

the people.

IT was their usual prastice at first to observe so far the appearance of law as to give indictments to those whom they intended to oppress: Upon-which the persons were committed to prison, but never brought to trial; and were at length obliged, in order to recover their liberty, to pay heavy fines and ransoms, which were called mitigations and compositions. By degrees the very appearance of law was neglected: The two ministers sent forth their precepts to attach men, and summon them C c 2 before XXVI. 1503.

CHAP. before themselves and some others, at their private houses, in a court of commission, where, in a summary manner, without trial or jury, arbitrary decrees were issued, both in pleas of the crown, and controversies between private parties. Juries themfelves, when summoned, proved but small security to the subject; being brow-beaten by these oppressors; nay fined, imprisoned, and punished, if they gave fentence against the inclination of the ministers. The whole system of the feudal law, which still prevailed, was turned into a scheme of oppression. Even the king's wards, after they came of age, were not suffered to enter into possession of their lands without paying exorbitant fines. Men were also harassed with informations of intrusion upon scarce colourable titles. When an outlawry in a personal action was issued against any man, he was not allowed to purchase his charter of pardon, except on the payment of a great sum; and if he refused the compofition required of him, the strict law, which in such cases allows forfeiture of goods, was rigorously insisted on. Nay, without any colour of law, the half of men's lands and rents were seized during two years, as a penalty in case of outlawry. But the chief means of oppression employed by these ministers were the penal statutes, which, without confideration of rank, quality, or fervices, where rigidly put in execution against all men: Spies, informers, and inquisitors, were rewarded and encouraged in every quarter of the kingdom: And no difference was made whether the statute were beneficial or hurtful, recent or obsolete, possible or impossible to be executed. The fole end of the king and his ministers was to amass money, and bring every one under the lash of their authority.

Polyd. Virg. ⁿ Bacon, p. 629, 630. Hollingshed, p. 504. p. 613, 615.

THROUGH the prevalence of such an arbitrary and CHAP. iniquitous administration, the English, it may safely be affirmed, were considerable losers by their ancient privileges, which secured them from all taxations, except such as were imposed by their own consent in parliament. Had the king been empowered to levy general taxes at pleasure, he would naturally have abstained from these oppressive expedients, which destroyed all security in private property, and begat an universal diffidence throughout the nation. In vain did the people look for protection from the parliament, which was pretty frequently summoned during this reign. That assembly was so overawed, that at this very time, during the greatest rage of 1504. Henry's oppressions, the commons chose Dudley A parliatheir speaker, the very man who was the chief in- nent. strument of his iniquities. And though the king was known to be immensely opulent, and had no pretence of wars or expensive enterprises of any kind, they granted him the subsidy which he demanded. But so insatiable was his avarice, that next year he levied a new benevolence, and renewed that arbitrary and oppressive method of taxation. By all these arts of accumulation, joined to a rigid frugality in his expence, he so filled his coffers, that he is faid to have possessed in ready money the sum of 1,800,000 pounds: A treasure almost incredible, . if we consider the scarcity of money in those times ". Bur while Henry was enriching himself by the spoils of his oppressed people, there happened an event

XXVI. 1503.

1505.

• Silver was, during this reign, at 37 shillings and sixpence a pound, which makes Henry's treasure near three millions of our prefent money. Besides, many commodities have become above thrice as dear by the increase of gold and filver in Europe. And what is a circumstance of still greater weight, all other states were then very poor in comparison of what they are at present. These circumstances make Henry's treasure appear very great; and may lead us to conceive the oppressions of his government.

abroad which engaged his attention, and was even

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the

CHAP. the object of his anxiety and concern. Isabella, queek of Castile, died about this time; and it was foreseen, that by this incident the fortunes of Ferdinand her husband would be much affected. The king was not only attentive to the fate of his ally, and watchful lest the general system of Europe should be affected by so important an event: He also considered the similarity of his own situation with that of Ferdinand, and regarded the issue of these transactions as a precedent for himself. Joan, the daughter of Ferdinand by Isabella, was married to the archduke Philip, and being in right of her mother heir of Castile, seemed entitled to dispute with Ferdinand the present possession of that kingdom. Henry knew, that notwithstanding his own pretensions by the house of Lancaster, the greater part of the nation was convinced of the superiority of his wife's title; and he dreaded lest the prince of Wales, who was daily advancing towards manhood, might be tempted by ambition to lay immediate claim to the crown. By his perpetual attention to depress the partisans of the York family, he had more closely united them into one party, and increased their defire of shaking off that yoke under which they had so long laboured, and of taking every advantage which his oppressive government should give his enemies against him. And as he possessed no independent force like Ferdinand, and governed a kingdom more turbulent and unruly, which he himfelf by his narrow politics . had confirmed in factious prejudices; he apprehended that his situation would prove in the issue still more precarious.

Northing at first could turn out more contrary to the king's wishes than the transactions in Spain. Ferdinand, as well as Henry, had become very unpopular, and from a like cause, his former exactions and impositions; and the states of Castile discovered an evident resolution of preserring the title of Philip

and Joan. In order to take advantage of these fa- CHAP. vourable dispositions, the archduke, now king of XXVI. Castile, attended by his consort, embarked for Spain during the winter season; but meeting with a violent tempest in the channel, was obliged to take shelter in the harbour of Weymouth. Sir John Arrival of Trenchard, a gentleman of authority in the county the king of of Dorset, hearing of a fleet upon the coast, had affembled some forces; and being joined by fir John Cary, who was also at the head of an armed body, he came to that town. Finding that Philip, in order to relieve his fickness and fatigue, was already come ashore, he invited him to his house; and immediately dispatched a messenger to inform the court of this important incident. The king fent in all haste the earl of Arundel to compliment Philip on his arrival in England, and to inform him that he intended to pay him a visit in person, and to give him a suitable reception in his dominions. Philip knew that he could not now depart without the king's consent; and therefore, for the sake of dispatch, he resolved to anticipate his visit, and to have an interview with him at Windsor. Henry received him with all the magnificence possible, and with all the feeming cordiality; but he resolved, notwithstanding, to draw some advantage from this

1506.

involuntary visit paid him by his royal guest. EDMOND de la Pole earl of Suffolk, nephew to Intrigues Edward IV. and brother to the earl of Lincoln, of Suffolk. slain in the battle of Stoke, had some years before killed a man in a sudden sit of passion, and had been obliged to apply to the king for a remission of the crime. The king had granted his request; but being little indulgent to all persons connected with the house of York, he obliged him to appear openly in court and plead his pardon. Susfolk, more resenting the affront than grateful for the favour, had sled into Flanders, and taken shelter with his aunt, the dutchess of Burgundy: But being promised forgiveness C c 4

XXVI. ¥506.

C H A P. ness by the king, he returned to England, and obtained a new pardon. Actuated, however, by the natural inquietude of his temper, and uneasy from debts which he had contracted by his great expence at prince Arthur's wedding, he again made an elopement into Flanders. The king, well acquainted with the general discontent which prevailed against his administration, neglected not this incident, which might become of importance; and he employed his usual artifices to elude the efforts of his enemies. He directed fir Robert Curson, governor of the castle of Hammes, to desert his charge, and to infinuate himself into the confidence of Suffolk, by making him a tender of his fervices. Upon information fecretly conveyed by Curson, the king seized William Courtney, eldest son to the earl of Devonshire, and married to the lady Catherine, sister of the queen; William de la Pole, brother to the earl of Suffolk; fir James Tirrel, and fir James Windham, with some persons of inferior quality; and he committed them to custody. Lord Abergavenny and sir Thomas Green were also apprehended; but were soon after released from their con-finement. William de la Pole was long detained in prison; Courtney was attainted, and though not executed, he recovered not his liberty during the king's life time. But Henry's chief severity fell upon sir James Windham and sir James Tirrel, who were brought to their trial, condemned and executed: The fate of the latter gave general satisfaction, on account of his participation in the murder of the young princes, sons of Edward IV. Notwithstanding these discoveries and executions, Curfon was still able to maintain his credit with the earl of Suffolk: Henry, in order to remove all suspicion, had ordered him to be excommunicated, together with Suffolk himself, for his pretended rebellion. But after that traitor had performed all the services expected from him, he suddenly deserted

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the earl, and came over to England, where the king received him with unufual marks of favour and confidence. Suffolk, aftonished at this instance of persidy, finding that even the dutchess of Burgundy, tired with so many fruitless attempts, had become indifferent to his cause, sled secretly into France, thence into Germany, and returned at last into the Low Countries; where he was protected, though not countenanced, by Philip, then in close alliance with the king.

HENRY neglected not the present opportunity of complaining to his guest of the reception which Suffolk had met with in his dominions. "thought," replied the king of Castile, "that " your greatness and selicity had set you far above " apprehensions from any person of so little conse-" quence: But, to give you satisfaction, I shall " banish him my state." "I expect that you will " carry your complaifance farther," faid the king; "I desire to have Suffolk put into my hands, "where alone I can depend upon his submission " and obedience." "That measure," said Philip, " will reflect dishonour upon you as well as myself. "You will be thought to have treated me as a pri-"foner." "Then the matter is at an end," replied the king, " for I will take that dishonour upon "me; and so your honour is saved p." The king of Castile sound himself under a necessity of complying; but he first exacted Henry's promise that he would spare Suffolk's life. That nobleman was in vited over to England by Philip; as if the king would grant him a pardon, on the intercession of his friend and ally. Upon his appearance he was committed to the Tower; and the king of Castile, having fully satisfied Henry, as well by this concession as by signing a treaty of commerce between England and Castile, which was advantageous to the former kingdom 9,

P Bacon, p. 633. 9 Rymer, vol. xiii. p. 142.

XXVI. 1507.

CHAP. was at last allowed to depart, after a stay of three months. He landed in Spain, was joyfully received by the Castilians, and put in possession of the throne. He died soon after; and Joan his widow, falling into deep melancholy, Ferdinand was again enabled to reinstate himself in authority, and to govern till the day of his death the whole Spanish monarchy.

THE king survived these transactions two years; but nothing memorable occurs in the remaining part

1508.

of his reign, except his affiancing his second daughter, Mary, to the young archduke, Charles, son of

the king.

Philip of Castile. He entertained also some intentions of marriage for himself, first with the queendowager of Naples, relict of Ferdinand; afterwards with the dutchess dowager of Savoy, daughter of Sickness of Maximilian, and sister of Philip. But the decline of his health put an end to all such thoughts; and he began to cast his eye towards that future existence, which the iniquities and severities of his reign rendered a very dismal prospect to him. To allay the terrors under which he laboured, he endeavoured, by distributing alms, and founding religious houses, to make atonement for his crimes, and to purchase, by the facrifice of part of his 'ill-gotten treasures, a reconciliation with his offended Maker. Remorfe even seized him, at intervals, for the abuse of his authority by Empson and Dudley; but not sufficient to make him stop the rapacious hand of those oppressors. Sir William Capel was again sined two thousand pounds, under some frivolous pretence, and was committed to the Tower for daring to murmur against the iniquity. Harris; an alderman of London; was indicted, and died of vexation before his trial came to an issue. Sir Laurence Ailmer, who had been mayor, and his two sherisfs, were condemned in heavy fines, and fent to prison till they made payment. The king gave countenance to all these oppressions; till death, by its nearer approaches, proaches, impressed new terrors upon him; and he CHAP. then ordered, by a general clause in his will, that restitution should be made to all those whom he had injured. He died of a consumption, at his favourite palace of Richmond, after a reign of twenty-three vears and eight months, and in the fifty-second year of his age '.

THE reign of Henry VII. was, in the main, for-

1509. His death, 22d April,

He put an end to the civil wars with which the nation and cha-

tunate for his people at home, and honourable abroad. had long been harassed, he maintained peace and racter. order in the state, he depressed the former exorbitant power of the nobility, and, together with the friend. ship of some foreign princes, he acquired the confideration and regard of all. He loved peace without fearing war; though agitated with continual suspicions of his servants and ministers, he discovered no timidity, either in the conduct of his affairs, or in the day of battle; and though often severe in his punishments, he was commonly less actuated by revenge than by maxims of policy. The services which he rendered the people were derived from his views of private advantage rather than the motives of public spirit; and where he deviated from interested regards, it was unknown to himself, and ever from the malignant prejudices of faction, or the mean projects of avarice; not from the sallies of passion, or allurements of pleasure; still less from the benign motives of friendship and generosity. His capacity was excellent, but somewhat contracted by the narrowness of his heart; he possessed insinuation and address, but never employed these talents except where some great point of interest was to be gained; and while he neglected to conciliate the affections of his people, he often felt the danger of resting his authority on their fear and reverence alone. He was always extremely attentive to his affairs; but possessed not the faculty of seeing far into futurity;

XXVI. 1509.

CHAP, and was more expert at providing a remedy for his mistakes, than judicious in avoiding them. Avarice was, on the whole, his ruling passion ; and he remains an instance, almost singular, of a man placed in a high station, and possessed of talents for great affairs, in whom that passion predominated above Even among private persons, avarice ambition. is commonly nothing but a species of ambition, and is chiefly incited by the prospect of that regard, distinction, and consideration, which attend on riches.

> THE power of the kings of England had always been somewhat irregular or discretionary; but was scarcely ever so absolute during any former reign, at least after the establishment of the great charter, as during that of Henry. Besides the advantages derived from the personal character of the man, full of vigour, industry, and severity, deliberate in all projects, steady in every purpose, and attended with caution as well as good fortune in every enterprise; he came to the throne after long and bloody civil wars, which had destroyed all the great nobility, who alone could resist the encroachments of his authority: The people were tired with discord and intestine convulsions, and willing to submit to usurpations, and even to injuries, rather than plunge themselves anew into like miseries: The fruitless efforts made against him served always, as is usual, to confirm his authority: As he ruled by a faction, and the lesser faction, all those on whom he conferred offices, sensible that they owed every thing to his protection, were willing to support his power, though

^{*} As a proof of Henry's attention to the smallest profits, Bacon tells us, that he had feen a book of accounts kept by Empfon, and fubscribed in almost every leaf by the king's own hand other articles was the following: " Item, Received of fuch a one " five marks for a pardon, which if it do not pas the money to be " repayed, or the party otherwife fatisfied." Opposite to the memorandum the king had writ with his own hand, "otherwise satis-44 fied." Bacon, p. 630.

at the expence of justice and national privileges. C H A P. These seem the chief causes which at this time bestowed on the crown so considerable an addition of prerogative, and rendered the present reign a kind of epoch in the English constitution.

This prince, though he exalted his prerogative above law, is celebrated by his historian for many good laws which he made be enacted for the government of his subjects. Several considerable regulations, indeed, are found among the statutes of this reign, both with regard to the police of the kingdom, and its commerce: But the former are generally contrived with much better judgment than the latter. The more simple ideas of order and Hislaws equity are sufficient to guide a legislator in every thing that regards the internal administration of justice: But the principles of commerce are much more complicated, and require long experience and deep reflection to be well understood in any state. The real consequence of a law or practice is there often contrary to first appearances. No wonder that during the reign of Henry VII. these matters were frequently mistaken; and it may safely be affirmed, that even in the age of lord Bacon very imperfect and erroneous ideas were formed on that subject.

EARLY in Henry's reign the authority of the Star chamber, which was before founded on common law and ancient practice, was in some cases confirmed by act of parliament ': Lord Bacon extols the utility of this court; but men began, even during the age of that historian, to feel that so arbitrary a jurisdiction was incompatible with liberty; and in proportion as the spirit of independance still rose higher in the nation, the aversion to it increased, till it was entirely abolished by act of parliament in

² See Note [N] at the end of the volume.

CHAP. the reign of Charles I. a little before the commence XXVI. ment of the civil wars.

1509.

Laws were passed in this reign, ordaining the king's suit for murder to be carried on within a year and day ". Formerly it did not usually commence till after; and as the friends of the person murdered often in the interval compounded matters with the criminal, the crime frequently passed unpunished. Suits were given to the poor in forma pauperis, as it is called: That is, without paying ducs for the writs, or any fees to the council w: A good law at all times, especially in that age, when the people laboured under the oppression of the great; but a law difficult to be carried into execution. A law was made against carrying off any woman by force *. The benefit of clergy was abridged, and the criminal, on the first offence, was ordered to be burned in the hand with a letter, denoting his crime; after which he was punished capitally for any new offence. Sheriffs were no longer allowed to fine any person, without previously summoning him before their court 2. It is strange that such a practice should ever have prevailed. Attaint of juries was granted in cases which exceeded forty pounds value ": A law which has an appearance of equity, but which was afterwards found inconvenient. Actions popular were not allowed to be eluded by fraud or covin. If any fervant of the king's conspired against the life of the steward, treasurer, or comptroller of the king's household, this design, though not followed by any overt act, was made liable to the punishment of felony . This statute was enacted for the security

u 3 H. 7. cap 1.

^{* 3} H. 7 cap. 2.

^{* 11} H. 7. cap. 15.

b 3 H. 7. cap. 13.

w 11 H. 7. cap 12.

у 4 Н. 7. сар. 13.

² Ibid. cap 24, 19 H. 7. cap. 100.

of archbishop Morton, who found himself exposed to CHAP.

the enmity of great numbers.

THERE scarcely passed any session during this reign without some statute against engaging retainers, and giving them badges or liveries c; a practice by which they were in a manner inlisted under some great lord, and were kept in readiness to assist him in all wars, insurrections, riots, violences, and even in bearing evidence for him in courts of justice d. This disorder, which had prevailed during many reigns, when the law could give little protection to the subject, was then deeply rooted in England; and it required all the vigilance and rigour of Henry to extirpate it. There is a story of his severity against this abuse; and it seems to merit praise, though it is commonly cited as an instance of his avarice and rapacity. The earl of Oxford, his favourite general, in whom he always placed great and deserved confidence, having splendidly entertained him at his castle of Heningham, was desirous of making a parade of his magnificence at the departure of his royal guest; and ordered all his retainers, with their liveries and badges, to be drawn up in two lines, that their appearance might be the more gallant and splendid. "My lord," said the king, "I have " heard much of your hospitality; but the truth far " exceeds the report. These handsome gentlemen " and yeomen, whom I see on both sides of me, " are no doubt your menial fervants." The earl smiled, and confessed that his fortune was too narrow for fuch magnificence. "They are most of them," subjoined he, " my retainers, who are come to do " me service at this time, when they know I am "honoured with your majesty's presence." The king started a little, and said, "By my faith, my

c 3 H. 7. cap. 1. & 12. 11 H. 7 cap. 3. 19 H. 7. cap. 14.
d 3 H 7. cap. 12. 11 H 7. cap. 25.

XXVI. 1509.

CHAP. "lord, I thank you for your good cheer, but I must not allow my laws to be broken in my fight. My " attorney must speak with you." Oxford is said to have paid no less than fisteen thousand marks, as a composition for his offence.

THE increase of the arts, more effectually than all the severities of law, put an end to this pernicious practice. The nobility, instead of vying with each other in the number and boldness of their retainers, acquired by degrees a more civilized species of emulation, and endeavoured to excel in the splendour and elegance of their equipage, houses, and tables. The common people, no longer maintained in vicious idleness by their superiors, were obliged to learn some calling or industry, and became useful both to themselves and to others. And it must be acknowledged, in spite of those who declaim so violently against refinement in the arts, or what they are pleased to call luxury, that as much as an industrious tradesman is both a better man and a better citizen than one of those idle retainers who formerly depended on the great families; so much is the life of a modern nobleman more laudable than that of an ancient baron °.

But the most important law in its consequences which was enacted during the reign of Henry, was that by which the nobility and gentry acquired a power of breaking the ancient entails, and of alienating their estates'. By means of this law, joined to the beginning luxury and refinement of the age, the great fortunes of the barons were gradually difsipated, and the property of the commons increased in England. It is probable that Henry foresaw

• See note [O] at the end of the volume.

f 4 H. 7 cap. 24. The practice of breaking entails by means of 2 fine and recovery was introduced in the reign of Edward the IVth: But it was n t, properly speaking, law till the statute of Henry the VIIth; which, by correcting some abuses that attended that practice, gave indirectly a fanction to it. and

and intended this consequence; because the constant CHAP. scheme of his policy consisted in depressing the great, XXVI. and exalting churchmen, lawyers, and men of new families, who were more dependant on him.



This king's love of money naturally led him to encourage commerce, which encreased his customs; but if we may judge by most of the laws enacted during his reign, trade and industry were rather hurt than promoted by the care and attention given to them. Severe laws were made against taking interest for money, which was then denominated usury 5. Even the profits of exchange were prohibited as savouring of usury h, which the superstition of the age zealously proscribed. All evasive contracts, by which profits could be made from the loan of money, were also carefully guarded against '. It is needless to observe how unreasonable and iniquitous these laws, how impossible to be executed, and how hurtful to trade, if they could take place. We may obferve, however, to the praise of this king, that sometimes, in order to promote commerce, he lent to merchants fums of money without interest, when he knew that their stock was not sufficient for those enterprises which they had in view k.

Laws were made against the exportation of money, plate, or bullion 1: A precaution which serves to no other purpose than to make more be exported. But so far was the anxiety on this head carried, that merchants alien, who imported commodities into the kingdom, were obliged to invest in English commodities all the money acquired by their sales, in order to prevent their conveying it away in a clandestine manner m.

IT was prohibited to export horses; as if that exportation did not encourage the breed, and render

^{8 3} H 7. cap. c. h Ib'd. cap. 6. ▶ Polyd. Virg. 1 7H. 7. cap 8. т 3 H. 7. сар. 8. 1 4 H. 7. cap 23.

CHAP. them more plentiful in the kingdom. In order to promote archery, no bows were to be fold at a higher price than fix shillings and four-pence, reducing money to the denomination of our time. The only effect of this regulation must be, either that the people would be supplied with bad bows, or none at all. Prices were also assixed to woollen cloth, to caps and hats q: And the wages of labourers were regulated by law. It is evident that these matters ought always to be left free, and be entrusted to the common course of business and commerce. fome it may appear furprising, that the price of a yard of scarlet cloth should be limited to six and twenty shillings, money of our age; that of a yard of coloured cloth to eighteen; higher prices than these commodities bear at present; and that the wages of a tradesman, such as a mason, bricklayer, tyler, &c. should be regulated at near ten pence a-day; which is not much inferior to the present wages given in some parts of England. Labour and commodities have certainly rifen since the discovery of the West-Indies; but not so much in every particular as is generally imagined. The greater industry of the present times has increased the number of tradesimen and labourers, so as to keep wages nearer a par than could be expected from the great increase of gold and filver. And the additional art employed in the finer manufactures has even made some of these commodities fall below their former value. mention that merchants and dealers, being contented with less prosit than formerly, afford the goods cheaper to their customers. It appears by a statute of this reign, that goods bought for fixteen pence would sometimes be sold by the merchants for three shillings. The commodities whose price has chiefly risen, are butchers meat, fowl, and fish (especially

^{* 11} H. 7. cap. 13. P 4 H 7. cap. 8. 1 11 II 7. cap. 22.

^{• 3.}H. 7. cap. 12. 4 Ibid cap. 9.

^{5 4} H. 7. cap. 9.

the latter), which cannot be much augmented in C H A P. quantity by the increase of art and industry. The XXVI. profession which then abounded most, and was sometimes embraced by persons of the lowest rank, was the church: By a clause of a statute all clerks or students of the university were forbidden to beg, without a permission from the vice-chancellor '.

ONE great cause of the low state of industry during this period was the restraints put upon it; and the parliament, or rather the king (for he was the prime mover in every thing), enlarged a little some of these limitations, but not to the degree that was requisite. A law had been enacted during the reign of Henry IV. u, that no man could bind his son or daughter to an apprenticeship, unless he were possessed of twenty shillings a-year in land; and Henry VII. because the decay of manufactures was complained of in Norwich from the want of hands, exempted that city from the penalties of the law w. Afterwards the whole county of Norfolk obtained a like exemption with regard to some branches of the woollen manufacture*. These absurd limitations proceeded from a desire of promoting husbandry, which, however, is never more effectually encouraged than by the increase of manufactures. For a like reason, the law enacted against inclosures, and for the keeping up of farm-houses, scarcely deserves the high praises bestowed on it by lord Bacon. If husbandmen understand agriculture, and have a ready vent for their commodities, we need not dread a diminution of the people employed in the country. All methods of supporting populousness, except by the interest of the proprietors, are violent and ineffectual. During a century and a half after this period, there was a frequent renewal of laws and

t 11 H. 7. cap 22. u 7 H. 7. cap. 17. * 12 H. 7. cap. 1. w 11 H. 7. cap. 11. y 4 H. 7. cap. 19.

CHAP. edicts against depopulation; whence we may infer that none of them were ever executed. The natural course of improvement at last provided a remedy.

ONE check to industry in England was the erecting of corporations; an abuse which is not yet entirely corrected. A law was enacted, that corporations should not pass any bye-laws without the consent of three of the chief officers of state 2. They were prohibited from imposing tolls at their gates a. The cities of Glocester and Worcester had even imposed tolls on the Severne, which were abolished b.

THERE is a law of this reign', containing a preamble, by which it appears, that the company of merchant adventurers in London had, by their own authority, debarred all the other merchants of the kingdom from trading to the great marts in the Low Countries, unless each trader previously paid them the fum of near feventy pounds. It is furprifing that fuch a bye-law (if it deserve the name) could ever be carried into execution, and that the authority of parliament should be requisite to abrogate it.

Ir was during this reign, on the second of August 1492, a little before sun-set, that Christopher Columbus, a Genoese, set out from Spain on his memerable voyage for the discovery of the western world; and a few years after Vasquez de Gama, a Portuguese, passed the Cape of Good Hope, and opened a new passage to the East Indies. These great events were attended with important confequences to all the nations of Europe, even to such as were not immediately concerned in those naval enterprises. The enlargement of commerce and navigation increased industry and the arts every where: The nobles dissipated their fortunes in expensive

² 19 H. 7. cap. 7. ² Ibld. cap. 8. belbid. cap. 18. 6 12 H. 7. cap. 6.

pleasures: Men of an inferior rank both acquired CHAP. a share in the landed property, and created to themselves a considerable property of a new kind, in stock, commodities, art, credit, and correspondence. In some nations the privileges of the commons increased by this increase of property: In most nations the kings, finding arms to be dropped by the barons, who could no longer endure their former rude manner of life, established standing armies, and fubdued the liberties of their kingdoms: But in all places the condition of the people, from the depression of the petty tyrants by whom they had formerly been oppressed rather than governed, received great improvement; and they acquired, if not entire liberty, at least the most considerable advantages of it. And as the general course of events thus tended to depress the nobles and exalt the people, Henry VII. who also embraced that system of policy, has acquired more praise than his inflitutions, strictly speaking, seem of themselves to deserve on account of any profound wisdom attending them.

Ir was by accident only that the king had not a considerable share in those great naval discoveries by which the present age was so much distinguished. Columbus, after meeting with many repulses from the courts of Portugal and Spain, sent his brother Bartholomew to London, in order to explain his projects to Henry, and crave his protection for the execution of them. The king invited him over to England; but his brother being taken by pirates, was detained in his voyage; and Columbus meanwhile having obtained the countenance of Isabella, was supplied with a small fleet, and happily executed his enterprise. Henry was not discouraged by this disappointment: He sitted out Sebastian Cabot, a Venetian, settled in Bristol; and sent him westwards, in 1498, in search of new countries. Cabot discovered the main land of America

D d 3

XXVI. 1509.

CHAP. America towards the fixtieth degree of northern latitude: He failed fouthwards along the coast, and discovered Newsoundland, and other countries; but returned to England without making any conquest or settlement. Elliot, and other merchants in Bristol, made a like attempt in 1502 d. The king expended fourteen thousand pounds in building one ship, called the Great Harry. She was, properly speaking, the first ship in the English navy. Before this period, when the prince wanted a fleet, he had no other expedient than hiring or pressing ships from the merchants.

> Bur though this improvement of navigation, and the discovery of both the Indies, was the most memorable incident that happened during this or any other period, it was not the only great event by which the age was distinguished. In 1453 Constantinople was taken by the Turks; and the Greeks among whom some remains of learning were flill preserved, being scattered by these barbarians, took shelter in Italy, and imported, together with their admirable language, a tincture of their science, and of their refined taste in poetry and eloquence. About the same time the purity of the Latin tongue was revived, the study of antiquity became fashionable, and the esteem for literature gradually propagated itself throughout every nation in Europe. The art of printing, invented about that time, extremely facilitated the progress of all these improvements: The invention of gunpowder changed the whole art of war: Mighty innovations were foon after made in religion, fuch as not only affected those states that embraced them, but even those that adhered to the ancient faith and worship: And thus a general revolution was made in human affairs throughout this part of the world: and men gradually attained that situation with regard to com-

d Rymer, vol xiii. p. 37.

e Store, p. 484.

merce, arts, science, government, police, and culti- C H A P. vation, in which they have ever since persevered. Here, therefore, commences the useful, as well as the more agreeable part of modern annals; certainty has place in all the confiderable, and even most of the minute parts of historical narration; a great variety of events, preserved by printing, give the author the power of felecting, as well as adorning the facts which he relates; and as each incident has a reference to our present manners and situation, instructive lessons occur every moment during the course of the narration. Whoever carries his anxious researches into preceding periods is moved by a curiosity, liberal indeed and commendable; not by any necessity for acquiring knowledge of public assairs, or the arts of civil government.

C H A P. XXVII.

HENRY VIII.

Popularity of the new king—His ministers— Punishment of Empson and Dudley ——King's marriage — Forcign affairs — Julius II.— League of Cambray — War with France — Expedition to Fontarabia —— Deceit of Ferdinand -Return of the English-Leo X.—A parliament—War with Scotland—Wulsey minister ---His character --- Invasion of France ---Battle of Guinegate — Battle of Flouden — Peace with France.

1509.

Popularity of the new king.

CHAP. THE death of Henry VII. had been attended with as open and visible a joy among the people as decency would permit; and the accession and coronation of his fon Henry VIII. spread univerfally a declared and unfeigned fatisfaction. Instead of a monarch jealous, severe, and avaricious, who, in proportion as he advanced in years, was finking still deeper in those unpopular vices, a young prince of eighteen had succeeded to the throne, who even in the eyes of men of fense gave promising hopes of his future conduct, much more in those of the people, always enchanted with novelty, youth, and royal dignity. The beauty and vigour of his person, accompanied with dexterity in every manly exercise, was farther adorned with blooming and ruddy countenance, with a lively air, with the appearance of spirit and activity in all his demeanour. His father, in order to remove him



Tom a Run, my in the Royal Collection Renoington Salling (influence) Congressed by Hart Sheren

from the knowledge of public business, had hither- C H A P. to occupied him entirely in the pursuits of literature; XAVII. and the proficiency which he made gave no bad prognostic of his parts and capacity s. Even the vices of vehemence, ardour, and impatience, to which he was subject, and which afterwards degenerated into tyranny, were confidered only as faults incident to unguarded youth, which would be corrected when time had brought him to greater moderation and maturity. And as the contending titles of York and Lancaster were now at last fully united in his person, men justly expected from a prince, obnoxious to no party, that impartiality of administration which had long been unknown in England.

THESE favourable prepossessions of the public were encouraged by the measures which Henry embraced in the commencement of his reign. grandmother, the countess of Richmond and Derby, was still alive; and as she was a woman much celebrated for prudence and virtue, he wisely shewed great deference to her opinion in the establishment of his new council. The members were, Warham, His miniarchbishop of Canterbury and chancellor; the earl sters. of Shrewsbury, steward; lord Herbert, chamberlain; fir Thomas Lovel, master of the wards and constable of the Tower; sir Edward Poynings, comptroller; fir Henry Marney, afterwards lord Marney; fir Thomas Darcy, afterwards lord Darcy; I homas Ruthal, doctor of laws; and fir Henry These men had long been accustomed to business under the late king, and were the least unpopular of all the ministers employed by that monarch.

But the chief competitors for favour and authority under the new king were the earl of Surrey, trea-

g Father Paul, lib. v. 1 Hollingshed, p. 799.

MYXXII. 2509.

C II A P. furer, and Fox bishop of Winchester, secretary and privy seal. This prelate, who enjoyed great credit during all the former reign, had acquired such habits of caution and frugality as he could not easily lay aside; and he still opposed, by his remonstrances, those schemes of dissipation and expence which the youth and passions of Henry rendered agreeable to him. But Surrey was a more dexterous courtier; and though few had borne a greater share in the frugal politics of the late king, he knew how to conform himself to the humour of his new master; and no one was so forward in promoting that liberality, pleasure, and magnisicence, which began to prevail under the young monarch i. By this policy he ingratiated himself with Henry; he made advantage, as well as the other courtiers, of the lavish disposition of his master; and he engaged him in such a course of play and idleness as rendered him negligent of affairs, and willing to entrust the government of the state entirely into the hands of his ministers. The great treasures amassed by the late king were gradually dislipated in the giddy expences of Henry. One party of pleasure succeeded to another: Tilts, tournaments, and caroufals, were exhibited with all the magnificence of the age: And as the present tranquillity of the public permitted the court to indulge itself in every amusement, serious business was but little attended to. Or if the king intermitted the course of his festivity, he chiefly employed himself in an application to music and literature, which were his favourite pursuits, and which were well adapted to his genius. He had made fuch proficiency in the former art, as even to compole some pieces of church-music which were sung in his chapel'. He was initiated in the elegant learning of the ancients. And though he was so unfortunate as to be seduced into a study of the barren contro-

I Lord Herbert-

versies of the schools, which were then fashionable, CHAP. and had chosen Thomas Aquinas for his favourite XXVII. author, he still discovered a capacity sitted for more useful and entertaining knowledge.

THE frank and careless humour of the king, as it led him to dissipate the treasures amassed by his father, rendered him negligent in protecting the instruments whom that prince had employed in his extortions. A proclamation being issued to encourage complaints, the rage of the people was let loofe on all informers, who had so long exercised an unbounded tyranny over the nation 1: They were. thrown into prison, condemned to the pillory, and most of them lost their lives by the violence of the Empson and Dudley, who were most Punishexposed to public, hatred, were immediately sum- ment of Empson moned before the council, in order to answer for and Dudtheir conduct, which had rendered them so ob- leynoxious. Empfon made a shrewd apology for himself, as well as for his affociate. He told the council, that so far from his being justly exposed to censure for his past conduct, his enemies themselves grounded their clamour on actions which seemed rather to merit reward and approbation: That a strict execution of, law was the crime of which he and Dudley were accused; though that law had been established by general consent, and though they had acted in obedience to the king, to whom the administration of justice was enrusted by the constitution: That it belonged not to them, who were instruments in the hands of supreme power, to determine what laws were recent or obsolete, expedient or hurtful; since they were all alike valid, so long as they remained unrepealed by the legislature: That it was natural for a licentious populace to murmur against the restraints of authority; but all wife states had ever made their glory consist in the just distribution of rewards and

Hollingshed, p. 799. Polyd. Virg. 1 Herbert, Stowe, p. 486. lib. xxv.ii. , punishments,

1509

CHAP. punishments, and had annexed the former to the XXVII. observance and enforcement of the laws, the latter to their violation and infraction: And that a sudden overthrow of all government might be expected, where the judges were committed to the mercy of the criminals, the rulers to that of the subjects m.

Notwithstanding this defence, Empson and Dudley were sent to the Tower; and soon after brought to their trial. The strict execution of laws, however obsolete, could never be imputed to them as a crime in a court of judicature; and it is likely that, even where they had exercised arbitrary power, the king, as they had acted by the fecret commands of his father, was not willing that their conduct should undergo too severe a scrutiny. In order, therefore, to gratify the people with the punishment of these obnoxious ministers, crimes very improbable, or indeed absolutely impossible, were charged upon them; that they had entered into a conspiracy against the fovereign, and had intended, on the death of the late king, to have seized by force the administration of government. The jury were so far moved by popular prejudices, joined to court influence, as to give a verdict against them; which was afterwards confirmed by a bill of attainder in parliament, and at the carnest desire of the people was executed by warrant from the king. Thus, in those arbitrary times, justice was equally violated, whether the king sought power and riches, or courted popularity.

m Herbert, Hollingshed, p. 804.

n This parkiament met on the 21st Japuary 1510. A law was there enacted, in order to prevent some abuses which had prevailed during the late reign. The forfeiture upon the penal statutes was reduced to the term of three years. Costs and damages were given against informers upon acquittal of the accused: More severe punishments were enamed against perjury: The false inquisitions procuted by Empfon and Dudley were declared null and invalid. Traverfes were allowed; and the time: of tendering them enlarged. 2 H. S. c. S. 10, 11, 12.

HENRY, while he punished the instruments of CHAP. past tyranny, had yet such deference to former en- XXVII. gagements as to deliberate, immediately after his accession, concerning the celebration of his marriage with the infanta Catherine, to whom he had been affianced during his father's lifetime. Her former King's marriage with his brother, and the inequality of marriage. their years, were the chief objections urged against his espousing her: But on the other hand, the advantages of her known virtue, modesty, and sweetness of disposition, were insisted on; the affection which she bore to the king; the large dowry to which she was entitled as princess of Wales; the interest of cementing a close alliance with Spain; the necessity of finding some confederate to counterbalance the power of France; the expediency of fulfilling the engagements of the late king: When these considerations were weighed, they determined the council, though contrary to the opinion of the primate, to give Henry their advice for celebrating the marriage. The countess of Richmond, who had concurred in the same sentiments with the council, died foon after the marriage 3d June. of her grandson.

The popularity of Henry's government, his undisputed title, his extensive authority, his large treatures, the tranquillity of his subjects, were circumstances which rendered his domestic administration easy and prosperous: The situation of foreign Foreign affairs was no less happy and desirable. Italy con- affairs, tinued still, as during the late reign, to be the centre of all the wars and negotiations of the European princes; and Henry's alliance was courted by all parties; at the same time that he was not engaged by any immediate interest or necessity to take part with any. Lewis XII. of France, after his conquest of Milan, was the only great prince that possessed any territory in Italy; and could he have remained

CHAP. in tranquillity, he was enabled by his situation to prescribe laws to all the Italian princes and republics, and to hold the balance among them. But the defire of making a conquest of Naples, to which he had the same title or pretensions with his predecessor, still engaged him in new enterprises; and as he foresaw opposition from Ferdinand, who was connected both by treaties and affinity with Frederic of Naples, he endeavoured by the offers of interest, to which the ears of that monarch were ever open, to engage him in an opposite confederacy. He settled with him a plan for the partition of the kingdom of Naples, and the expulsion of Frederic: A plan which the politicians of that age regarded as the most egregious imprudence in the French monarch, and the greatest perfidy in the Spanish. Frederic, supported only by subjects who were either discontented with his government, or indifferent about his fortunes, was unable to relist so powerful a confederacy, and was deprived of his dominions: But he had the satisfaction to see Naples immediately prove the source of contention among his Ferdinand gave secret orders to his general, Gonsalvo, whom the Spaniards honour with the appellation of the great captain, to attack the armies of France, and make himself master of all the dominions of Naples. Gonfalvo prevailed in every enterprise, defeated the French in two pitched battles, and ensured to his prince the entire possesfion of that kingdom. Lewis, unable to procure redress by force of arms, was obliged to enter into a fruitless negotiation with Ferdinand for the recovery of his share of the partition; and all Italy during some time was held in suspence between these two powerful monarchs.

> THERE has scarcely been any period when the balance of power was better secured in Europe, and seemed more able to maintain itself without any anxious

anxious concern or attention of the princes. Se- CHAP. veral great monarchies were established; and no XXVII. one so far surpassed the rest as to give any foundation or even pretence for jealousy. England was united in domestic peace, and by its situation happily secured from the invasion of foreigners. The coalition of the several kingdoms of Spain had formed one powerful monarchy, which Ferdinand administered with arts, fraudulent indeed and deceitful, but full of vigour and ability. Lewis XII. a gallant and generous prince, had, by espousing Anne of Britanny, widow to his predecessor, preserved the union with that principality, on which the safety of his kingdom so much depended. Maximilian the emperor, besides the hereditary dominions of the Austrian family, maintained authority in the empire, and, notwithstanding the levity of his character, was able to unite the German princes in any great plan of interest, at least of defence. Charles prince of Castile, grandson to Maximilian and Ferdinand, had already succeeded to the rich dominions of the house of Burgundy; and being as yet in early youth, the government was entrusted to Margaret of Savoy, his aunt, a princess endowed with fignal prudence and virtue. The internal force of these several powerful states, by balancing each other, might long have maintained general tranquillity, had not the active and enterprising genius of Julius II. an ambitious pontiff, first excited Julius II. the flames of war and discord among them. By his intrigues, a league had been formed at Cam- League of bray between himself, Maximilian, Lewis, and Cambray. Ferdinand; and the object of this great confederacy was to overwhelm, by their united arms, the commonwealth of Venice. Henry, without any motive from interest or passion, allowed his name to be inserted in the confederacy. This oppressive and

1509.

CHAP. iniquitous league was but too successful against the XXVII. republic.

1509.

1510.

THE great force and secure situation of the considerable monarchies prevented any one from aspiring to any conquest of moment; and though this consideration could not maintain general peace, or remedy the natural inquietude of men, it rendered the princes of this age more disposed to desert engagements, and change their alliances, in which they were retained by humour and caprice, rather than by any natural or durable interest. Julius had no sooner humbled the Venetian republic, than he was inspired with a nobler ambition, that of expelling all foreigners from Italy, or, to speak in the style affected by the Italians of that age; the freeing of that country entirely from the dominion of Barbarians P. He was determined to make the tempest fall first upon Lewis; and, in order to pave the way for this great enterprise, he at once fought for a ground of quarrel with the monarch, and courted the alliance of other princes. He declared war against the duke of Ferrara, the confederate of Lewis. He solicited the favour of England, by sending Henry a sacred rose, perfumed with musk, and anointed with chrism. He engaged in his interests Bambridge archbishop of York, and Henry's ambassador at Rome, whom he foon after created a cardinal. He drew over Ferdinand to his party, though that monarch at first made no declaration of his intentions. And what he chiefly valued, he formed a treaty with the Swiss cantons, who, enraged by some neglects put upon them by Lewis, accompanied with contumelious expressions, had quitted the alliance of France, and waited for an opportunity of revenging themselves on that nation.

Işıı.

WHILE the French monarch repelled the attacks of his enemies, he thought it also requisite to make an

P Guicciard. lib. viii.

I Spelman, Concil vol. ii. p 725.

attempt on the pope himself, and to despoil him as CHAP. much as possible, of that facred character which chiefly rendered him formidable. He engaged fome cardinals, difgusted with the violence of Julius, to defert him; and by their authority, he was determined, in conjunction with Maximilian, who still adhered to his alliance, to call a general council, which might reform the church, and check the exorbitancies of the Roman pontiff. A council was fummoned at Pisa, which from the beginning bore a very inauspicious aspect, and promised little success to its adherents. Except a few French bishops, who unwillingly obeyed their king's commands in attending the council, all the other prelates kept aloof from an assembly which they regarded as the offspring of faction, intrigue, and worldly politics. Even Pisa, the place of their residence, showed them figns of contempt; which engaged them to transfer their session to Milan, a city under the dominion of the French monarch. Notwithstanding this advantage, they did not experience much more respectful treatment from the inhabitants of Milan; and found it necessary to make another remove to Lyons 9. Lewis himself fortified these violent prejudices in ' favour of papal authority, by the fymptoms which he discovered, of regard, deference, and submission to Julius, whom he always spared, even when fortune had thrown into his hands the most inviting opportunities of humbling him. And as it was known that his confort, who had great influence over him, was extremely disquieted in mind on account of his dissensions with the holy father, all men prognosticated to Julius final success in this unequal contest.

THE enterprising pontiff knew his advantages, and availed himself of them with the utmost temerity and insolence. So much had he neglected his

9 Guicciardini, lih. 10.

C H A P. sacerdotal character, that he acted in person at the fiege of Mirandola, visited the trenches, saw some of his attendants killed by his side, and, like a young foldier, cheerfully bore all the rigours of winter and a severe season, in pursuit of military glory : Yet was he still able to throw, even on his most moderate opponents, the charge of impiety and prophaneneis. He summoned a council at the Lateran: He put Pisa under an interdict, and all the places which gave shelter to the schismatical council: He excommunicated the cardinals and prelates who attended it: He even pointed his spiritual thunder against the princes who adhered to it: He freed their subjects from all oaths of allegiance, and gave their dominions to every one who could take possession of them.

> FERDINAND of Arragon, who had acquired the firname of Catholic, regarded the cause of the pope and of religion only as a cover to his ambition and felfish politics: Henry, naturally sincere and sanguine in his temper, and the more so on account of his youth and inexperience, was moved with a hearty desire of protecting the pope siom the oppression to which he believed him exposed from the ambitious enterprises of Lewis. 'Hopes had been given him by Julius, that the title of Most Christian King, which had hitherto been annexed to the crown of France, and which was regarded as its most precious ornament, should, in reward of his services, be transferred to that of England'. Impatient also of acquiring that distinction in Europe to which his power and opulence entitled him, he could not long remain neuter amidst the noise of arms; and the natural enmity of the English against France, as well as their ancient claims upon that kingdom, led Henry to join that alliance, which the pope, Spain, and Venice had formed against the French mo-

> 5 Guicciard. lib. 11. P. Daniel, [†] Guicciardini, lib. 9. vol. it. p. 1893. Herbert. Hollingshed, p. 831.

ISII.

narch. A herald was sent to Paris, to exhort CHAP. Lewis not to wage impious war against the sove-reign pontisf; and when he returned without 1512. success, another was sent to demand the ancient patrimonial provinces, Anjou, Maine, Guienne, and Normandy. This message was understood to war with be a declaration of war; and a parliament being France. funmoned, readily granted supplies for a purpose fo much favoured by the English nation . -

Buonaviso, an agent of the pope's at London, had been corrupted by the court of France, and had previously revealed to Lewis all the measures which Henry was concerting against him. But this infidelity did the king inconsiderable prejudice, in comparison of the treachery which he experienced from the selfish purposes of the ally on whom he chiefly relied for assistance. Ferdinand, his father-in-law, had so long persevered in a course of crooked politics, that he began even to value himself on his dexterity in fraud and artifice; and he made a boast of those shameful successes. Being told one day, that Lewis, a prince of a very different character, had complained of his having once cheated him: " He lies, the drunkard!" faid he, "I have cheated him above twenty times." This prince confidered his close connexions with Henry only as the means which enabled him the better to take advantage of his want of experience. He advised him not to invade France by the way of Calais, where he himself should not have it in his power to assist him: He Expediexhorted him rather to fend forces to Fontarabia, tion to whence he could easily make a conquest of Guienne, bia. a province in which it was imagined the English had still some adherents. He promised to assist this conquest by the junction of a Spanish army. And so forward did he seem to promote the interests of his son-in-law, that he even sent vessels to England,

Herbert. Hollingshed, p. 811,

I512.

CHAP. in order to transport over the forces which Henry had levied for that purpose. The marquis of Dor had levied for that purpose. The marquis of Dorfet commanded this armament, which consisted of ten thousand men, mostly infantry; lord Howard son of the earl of Surrey, lord Broke, lord Ferrars, and many others of the young gentry and nobility, accompanied him in this service. All were on fire to distinguish themselves by military atchievements, and to make a conquest of importance for their master. The secret purpose of Ferdinand, in this unexampled generofity, was suspected by nobody.

> THE small kingdom of Navarre lies on the frontiers between France and Spain; and as John d'Albert the sovereign was connected by friendship and alliance with Lewis, the opportunity seemed favourable to Ferdinand, while the English forces were conjoined with his own, and while all adhe-- rents to the council of Pisa lay under the sentence of excommunication, to put himself in possession of these dominions. No sooner, therefore, was Dorset landed in Guipiscoa, than the Spanish monarch declared his readiness to join him with his forces, to make with united arms an invasion of France, and to form the siege of Bayonne, which opened the way into Guienne ": But he remarked to the English general how dangerous it might prove to leave behind them the kingdom of Navarre, which, being in close alliance with France, could easily give admittance to the enemy, and cut off all communication between Spain and the combined armies. To provide against so dangerous an event, he required, that John should stipulate a neutrality in the present war; and when that prince expressed his willingness to enter into any engagement for that purpose, he also required, that security should be given for the strict observance of it." John having likewise agreed to this condition, Ferdinand de-

[&]quot; Herbert. Hollingshed, p. 813.

manded, that he should deliver into his hands six of CHAP. the most considerable places of his dominions, together with his eldest son as a hostage. These were not terms to be proposed to a sovereign; and as the Spanish monarch expected a refusal, he gave immediate orders to the duke of Alva, his general, to make an invasion on Navarre, and to reduce that kingdom. Alva foon made himself master of all the finaller towns; and being ready to form the siege of Pampeluna, the capital, he summoned the marquis of Dorset to join him with the English army, and concert together all their operations.

DORSET began to suspect, that the interests of his master were very little regarded in all these transactions; and having no orders to invade the kingdom of Navarre, or make war any where but in France, he refused to take any part in the enter-prise. He remained therefore in his quarters at Fontarabia; but so subtle was the contrivance of Deceit of Ferdinand, that, even while the English army lay Ferdi in that situation, it was almost equally serviceable to his purpose, as if it had acted in conjunction with his own. It kept the French army in awe, and prevented it from advancing to succour the kingdom of Navarre; so that Alva, having full leisure to conduct the fiege, made himself matter of Panpeluna, and obliged John to feek for shelter in The Spanish general applied again to Dorset, and proposed to conduct with united couniels the operations of the bily league, so it was called, against Lewis: But as he still declined forming the siege of Bayonne, and rather insisted on the invasion of the principality of Bearne, a part of the king of Navarre's dominions, which lies on the French side of the Pyrenees, Dorset, justly suspicious of his sinister intentions, represented, that, without new orders from his master, he could not concur in such an undertaking. In order to procure these orders, Ec 3. Ferdinand

XXVII. 1512.

CHAP. Ferdinand dispatched Martin de Ampios to London; and persuaded Henry, that, by the refractory and scrupulous humour of the English general, the most favourable opportunities were lost, and that it was necessary he should, on all occasions, act in concert with the Spanish commander, who was best acquainted with the situation of the country, and the reasons of every operation. But before orders to this purpose reached Spain, Dorset had become extremely impatient; and observing that his farther flay ferved not to promote the main undertaking, and that his army was daily perifling by want and fickness, he demanded shipping from Ferdinand to transport them back into England. Ferdinand, who was bound by treaty to furnish him with this supply, whenever demanded, was at length, after many delays, obliged to yield to his importunity; and Dorset, embarking his troops, prepared himself for the voyage. Meanwhile, the messenger arrived with orders from Henry, that the troops should remain in Spain; but the soldiers were so discontented with the treatment which they had met with, that they mutinied, and obliged their commanders to set sail for England. Henry was much displeased with the ill success of this enterprise; and it was with difficulty that Dorfet, by explaining the fraudulent conduct of Ferdinand, was at last able to appeale him.

Return of the English.

> THERE happened this summer an action at sea, which brought not any more decisive advantage to the English. Sir Thomas Knevet, master of horse, was feat to the coast of Britanny with a fleet of forty-five sail; and he carried with him sir Charles Brandon, fir John Carew, and many other young courtiers, who longed for an opportunity of displaying their valour. After they had committed some depredations, a French fleet of thirty-nine sail issued from Brest, under the command of Primauget, and began

began an engagement with the English. Fire seized the ship of Primauget, who, sinding his destruction inevitable, bore down upon the vessel, of the English admiral, and grappling with her, resolved to make her share his sate. Both sleets stood some time in suspense, as spectators of this dreadful engagement, and all men saw with horror the slames which consumed both vessels, and heard the cries of sury and despair, which came from the miserable combatants. At last, the French vessel blew up; and at the same time destroyed the English. The rest of the French sleet made their escape into different harbours.

THE war which England waged against France, though it brought no advantage to the former kingdom, was of great prejudice to the latter: and by obliging Lewis to withdraw his forces for the defence of his own dominions, lost him that superiority, which his arms, in the beginning of the campaign, had attained in Italy. Gaston de Foix, his nephew, a young hero, had been entrusted with the command of the French forces; and in a few months performed fuch feats of military art and prowefs, as were sufficient to render illustrious the life of the oldest captain. His career sinished with the great battle of Ravenna, which, after the most obstinate conflict, he gained over the Spanish and papal armies. He perished the very moment his victory was complete; and with him perished the fortune of the French arms in Italy. The Swiss, who had rendered themselves extremely formidable by their bands of disciplined infantry, invaded the Milanese with a numerous army, and raised up that inconstant people to a revolt against the dominion of Genoa followed the example of the dut; France. chy; and thus Lewis, in a few weeks, entirely lost

x Polydore Virgil, lib. 27. Stowe, p. 499. Lanquet's Epitome of Chronicles, fol. 273. y Guicciard. lib. 10.

XXVII.

CHAP. his Italian conquests, except some garrisons; and Maximilian Sforza, the fon of Ludovic, was reinstated in possession of Milan.

1513.

21st Feb.

Leo X.

Julius discovered extreme joy on the discomfiture of the French; and the more so, as he had been beholden for it to the Swiss, a people whose councils, he hoped, he should always be able to influence and govern. The pontiff survived this success a very little time; and in his place was chosen John de Medicis, who took the appellation of Leo X. and proved one of the most illustrious princes that ever fat on the papal throne. Humane, beneficent, generous, affable; the patron of every art, and friend of every virtue?; he had a foul no less capable of forming great designs than his predecessor, but was more gentle, pliant, and artful in employing means for the execution of them. The fole defect, indeed, of his character was too great finesse and artifice; a fault which, both, as a priest and an Italian, it was difficult for him to avoid. By the negotiations of Leo, the emperor Maximilian was detached from the French interest; and Henry,

A parliament.

warlike measures against Lewis.' HENRY had summoned a new session of parliament, and obtained a supply for his enterprise. It was a poll-tax, and imposed different sums, according to the station and riches of the person. A duke payed ten marks, an earl five pounds, a baron four pounds, a knight four marks; every man valued at eight hundred pounds in goods, four marks. imposition was also granted of two sifteenths and four tentlis b. By these supplies, joined to the treafure which had been left by his father, and which was not yet entirely dissipated, he was enabled to

notwithstanding his disappointments in the former

campaign, was still encouraged to prosecute his

^{2 4}th November, 1512. z Fath.cr Paul, lib. 1.

> Stowe.

levy a great army, and render himself formidable to CHAP. his enemy. The English are said to have been XXVII. much encouraged in this enterprise, by the arrival of a vessel in the Thames under the papal banner. It carried presents of wine and hams to the king, and the more eminent courtiers; and fuch fond devotion was at that time entertained towards the court of Rome, that these trivial presents were every where received with the greatest triumph and exultation.

In order to prevent all disturbances from Scotland, while Henry's arms should be employed on the continent, Dr. West, dean of Windsor, was dispatched on an embassy to James, the king's brother-in-law; and instructions were given him to accommodate all differences between the kingdoms, as well as to discover the intentions of the court of Scotland'. Some coinplaints had already been made on both sides. One Barton, a Scotchman, having suffered injuries from the Portuguese, for which he could obtain no redrefs, had procured letters of marque against that nation; but he had no sooner put to sea, than he was guilty of the grossest abuses, committed depredations upon the English, and much infested the narrow seas d. Lord Howard and fir Edward Howard, admirals, and fons of the earl of Surrey, failing out against him, fought him in a desperate action, where the pirate was killed; and they brought his ships into the Thames. As Henry refused all satisfaction for this act of justice, some of the borderers. who wanted but a pretence for depredations, entered England under the command of lord Hume, warden of the marches, and committed great ravages on that kingdom. Notwithstanding these mutual grounds of dissatisfaction, matters might eafily have been accommodated,

^{*} Polydore Virgil, lib. 37.

⁴ Stowe, p 489. Hollingshed, p. 811.

CHAP. had it not been for Henry's intended invasion of France, which roused the jealousy of the Scottish nation. The ancient league, which subsisted be-War with tween France and Scotland, was conceived to be the strongest band of connection; and the Scots universally believed, that, were it not for the countenance which they received from this foreign alliance, they had never been able so long to maintain their independence against a people so much superior. James was farther incited to take part in the quarrel by the invitations of Anne, queen of France, whose knight he had ever in all tournaments professed himself, and who summoned him, according to the ideas of romantic gallantry prevalent in that age, to take the field in her defence, and prove himself her true and valorous champion. The remonstrances of his consort and of his wisest counsellors were in vain opposed to the martial ardour of this prince. He first sent a squadron of ships to the assistance of France; the only sleet which Scotland feems ever to have possessed. And though he still made professions of maintaining a neutrality, the English ambassador easily foresaw, that a war would in the end prove inevitable; and he gave warning of the langer to his master, who fent the earl of Surrey to put the borders in a posture of defence, and to resist the expected invasion of the enemy.

HENRY, all on fire for military fame, was little difcouraged by this appearance of a diversion from the north; and so much the less, as he flattered himself with the affiftance of all the confiderable potentates of Europe in his invasion of France. The pope still continued to thunder out his excommunications against Lewis, and all the adherents of the schismatical council: The Swiss cantons made pro-

e Buchanar, lib. 13. Drummoud in the life of James IV.

fessions of violent animosity against France: The CHAP. ambassadors of Ferdinand and Maximilian had XXVII. figned with those of Henry a treaty of alliance against that power, and had stipulated the time and place of their intended invasion: And though Ferdinand disavowed his ambassador, and even signed a truce for a twelvemonth with the common enemy; Henry was not yet fully convinced of his felfish and finister intentions, and still hoped for his concurrence after the expiration of that term. He had now got a minister who complied with all his inclinations, and flattered him in every icheme to which his fanguine and impetuous temper was inclined.

1513.

THOMAS WOLSEY, dean of Lincoln, and almoner Wolfey to the king, surpassed in favour all his ministers, ministers. and was fast advancing towards that unrivalled grandeur which he afterwards attained. This man was fon of a butcher at Ipswich; but having got a learned education, and being endowed with an excellent capacity, he was admitted into the marquis of Dorset's family as tutor to that nobleman's children, and foon gained the friendship and countenance of his patron. He was recommended to be chaplain to Henry VII. and being employed by that monarch in a secret negociation, which regarded his intended marriage with Margaret of Savoy, Maximilian's daughter, he acquitted himself to the king's satisfaction, and obtained the praise both of diligence and dexterity in his conduct s. That prince, having given him a commission to Maximilian, who at that time resided in Brussels, was surprised in less than three days after, to see Wolsey present himself before him; and supposing that he had protracted his departure, he began to reprove him for the dilatory execution of his orders. Wolsey informed

f Stowe, p.997.

E Cavendish. Fiddes's life of Wolsey. Stowe.

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CHAP. him, that he had just returned from Brussels, and had fuccessfully fulfilled all his majesty's commanus. "But on second thoughts," said the king, "I found that somewhat was omitted in your " orders; and have sent a messenger after you with fuller instructions." " 1 met the messenger," replied Wolsey, "on my return: But as I had re-" flected on that omission, I ventured of myself to " execute what, I knew, must be your majesty's " intentions." The death of Henry, soon after this incident retarded the advancement of Wolsey, and prevented his reaping any advantage from the good opinion which that monarch had entertained of him: But thenceforwards he was looked on at court as a rifing man; and Fox bishop of Winchester cast his eye upon him as one who might be ferviceable to him in his present situation b. This prelate observing that the earl of Surrey had totally eclipsed him in favour, resolved to introduce Wolfey to the young prince's familiarity, and hoped that he might rival Surrey in his infinuating arts, and yet be contented to act in the cabinet a part fubordinate to Fox himself, who had promoted him. In a little time Wolfey gainca fo much on the king, that he supplanted both Surrey in his favour, and Fox in his trust and confidence. Being admitted to Henry's parties of pleasure, he took the lead in every jovial conversation, and promoted all that frolic and entertainment which he found suitable to the age and inclination of the young monarch. Neither his own years, which were near forty, nor his character of a clergyman, were any restraint upon him, or engaged him to check, by any useless feverity, the gaiety, in which Henry, who had small propension to debauchery, passed his careless hours. During the intervals of amusement he introduced

h Antiq. Brit. Eccles. p. 3-9. Polydore Virgil, lib 27.

business, and infinuated those maxims of conduct CHAP. which he was desirous his master should adopt. He observed to him, that while he entrusted his affairs into the hands of his father's counsellors, he had the advantage indeed of employing men of wisdom and experience, but men who owed not their promotion to his favour, and who scarcely thought themselves accountable to him for the exercise of their authority: That by the factions, and cabals, and jealousies, which had long prevailed among them, they more obstructed the advancement of his assairs, than they promoted it by the knowledge which age and practice had conferred upon them: That while he thought proper to pass his time in those pleasures, to which his age and royal fortune invited him, and in those studies, which would in time enable him to fway the sceptre with absolute authority, his best system of government would be to entrust his authority into the hands of some one person; who was the creature of his will, and who could entertain no view but that of promoting his service: And that if this minister had also the same relish for pleasure with himself, and the same taste for science, he could more easily, at intervals, account to him for his whole conduct, and introduce his master gradually into the knowledge of public business; and thus, without tedious constraint or application, initiate him in the science of government.

HENRY entered into all the views of Wolfey; and finding no one so capable of executing this plan of administration as the person who proposed it, he foon advanced his favourite, from being the companion of his pleasures, to be a member of his council; and from being a member of his council, to be his sole and absolute minister. By this rapid

i Cavendish, p. 12. Stowe, p. 499.

1513. His character.

CHAP. advancement and uncontrolled authority, the character and genius of Wolsey had full opportunity to display, itself. Insatiable in his acquisitions, but still more magnificent in his expence: Of extensive capacity, but still more unbounded enterprise s Ambitious of power, but still more desirous of glory: Infinuating, engaging, persuasive; and, by turns, lofty, elevated, commanding: Haughty to his equals, but affable to his dependants; oppressive to the people, but liberal to his friends; more generous than grateful; less moved by injuries than by contempt; he was framed to take the ascendant in every intercourse with others, but exerted this superiority of nature with such ostentation as exposed him to envy, and made every one willing to recal the original inferiority, or rather meanness of his fortune.

THE branch of administration in which Henry most exerted himself, while he gave his entire confidence to Wolsey, was the military, which, as it fuited the natural gallantry and bravery of his temper, as well as the ardour of his youth, was the principal object of his attention. Finding that Lewis had made great preparations both by sea and land to resist him, he was no less careful to levy a formidable army, and equip a confiderable fleet for the invasion of France. The command of the fleet was entrusted to sir Edward Howard; who, after scouring the channel for some time, presented himself before Brest, where the French navy then lay; and he challenged them to a combat. The French admiral, who expected from the Mediterranean a reinforcement of some gallies under the command of Prejeant de Bicoux, kept within the harbour, and faw with patience the English burn and destroy the country in the neighbourhood. At · last Prejeant arrived with six gallies, and put into Conquet, a place within a few leagues of Brest;

where he secured himself behind some batteries, CHAP. which he had planted on rocks that lay on each side XXVII. of him. Howard was, notwithstanding, determined 1513. to make an attack upon him; and as he had but April 25. two gallies, he took himself the command of one, and gave the other to lord Ferrars. He was followed by some row-barges, and some crayers under the command of fir Thomas Cheyney, fir William Sidney, and other officers of distinction. He immediately fastened on Prejeant's ship, and leaped on board of her, attended by one Carroz, a Spanish cavalier, and seventeen Englishmen. The cable, meanwhile, which fastened his ship to that of the enemy, being cut, the admiral was thus left in the hands of the French; and as he still continued the combat with great gallantry, he was pushed overboard by their pikes k. Lord Ferraic, seeing the admiral's galley fall off, followed with the other small vessels; and the whole sleet was so discouraged by the loss of their commander, that they retired from before Brest!. The French navy came out of harbour; and even ventured to invade the coast of Sussex. They were repulsed, and Prejeant, their commander, lost an eye by the shot of an arrow. Lord Howard, brother to the deceased admiral, succeeded to the command of the English sleet; and little memorable passed at sea during this fummer.

GREAT preparations had been making at land, during the whole winter; for an invasion on France by the way of Calais; but the summer was well ad-

^{*} It was a maxim of Howard's, that no admiral was good for any thing, that was not even brave to a degree of madness. As the sea-service requires much less plan and contrivance and capacity than the land, this maxim has great plausibility and appearance of truth: Though the sate of Howard himself may serve as a proof, that even there courage ought to be tempered with discretion.

¹ Stowe, p. 491. Herbert, Hollingshed, p. 816.

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CHAP. vanced before every thing was in sufficient readiness for the intended enterprise. The long peace which the kingdom had enjoyed, had somewhat unfitted the English for military expeditions; and the great change which had lately been introduced in the art of war, had rendered it still more difficult to enure them to the use, of the weapons now employed in action. The Swiss, and after them the Spaniards, had shown the advantage of a stable infantry, who fought with pike and fword, and were able to repulse even the heavy-armed cavalry, in which the great force of the armies formerly consisted. The practice of fire-arms was become common; though v the caliver, which was the weapon now in use, was so inconvenient, and attended with so many disadvantages, that it had not entirely discredited the bow, a weapon in which the English excelled all European nations. A confiderable part of the forces, which Henry levied for the invasion of France, confifted of archers; and as foon as affairs were in readiness, the vanguard of the army, amounting to 8000 men, under the command of the earl of Shrewibury, sailed over to Calais. Shrewsbury was accompanied by the earl of Derby, the lords Fitzwater, Hastings, Cobham, and sir Rice ap Thomas, captain of the light horse. Another body of 6000 men soon after followed under the command of lord Herbert the chamberlain, attended by the earls of Northumberland and Kent, the lords Audley and Delawar, together with Carew, Curson, and other gentlemen.

THE king himself prepared to follow with the main body and rear of the army; and he appointed the queen regent of the kingdom during his absence. That he might secure her administration from all dilturbance, he ordered Edmond de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, to be beheaded in the Tower, the no-" blessan who had been attainted and imprisoned during

during the late reign. Henry was led to commit CHAP. this act of violence by the dying commands, as is XXVII. imagined, of his father, who told him, that he never would be free from danger, while a man of To turbulent a disposition as Suffolk was alive. And as Richard de la Pole, brother of Suffolk, had accepted of a command in the French service, and foolishly attempted to revive the York faction, and to instigate them against the present government, he probably, by that means, drew more suddenly the king's vengeance on this unhappy nobleman.

AT last Henry, attended by the duke of Bucking- 30th June. ham, and many others of the nobility, arrived at Calais, and entered upon his French expedition, from which he fondly expected so much success and glory m. Of all those allies on whose assistance he relied, the Swiss alone fully performed their engagements. Being put in motion by a sum of mo- Invasion of ney fent them by Henry, and incited by their vic- France. tories obtained in Italy, and by their animosity against France, they were preparing to enter that kingdom with an army of twenty-five thousand men; and no equal force could be opposed to their incursion. Maximilian had received an advance of . 120,000 crowns from Henry, and had promised to reinforce the Swiss with 8000 men; but failed in his engagements. That he might make atonement to the king, he himself appeared in the Low Countries, and joined the English army with some German and Flemish soldiers, who were useful in giving an example of discipline to Henry's new levied forces. Observing the disposition of the English monarch to be more bent on glory than on interest, he inlisted himself in his service, wore the cross of St. George, and received pay, an hundred crowns a day, as one of his subjects and captains.

m Polyd. Virg. lib, 27. Belcarius, lib. 14.

But

XXVII 1513.

CHAP. But while he exhibited this extraordinary spectacle, of an emperor of Germany serving under a king of England, he was treated with the highest respect by Henry, and really directed all the operations of the English army.

Before the arrival of Henry and Maximilian in the camp, the earl of Shrewsbury and lord Herbert had formed the siege of Terouane, a town situated on the frontiers of Picardy; and they began to attack the place with vigour. Teligni and Crequi commanded in the town, and had a garrison not exceeding two thousand men; yet made they such stout refistance as protracted the siege a month; and they at last found themselves more in danger from want of provisions and ammunition, than from the assaults of the besiegers. Having conveyed intelligence of their situation to Lewis, who had advanced to Amiens with his army, that prince gave orders to 46th Aug. throw relief into the place. Fontrailles appeared at the head of 800 horsemen, each of whom carried a fack of gunpowder behind him, and two quarters of bacon. With this small force he made a sudden and unexpected irruption into the English camp, and, furmounting alleresistance, advanced to the fossee of the town, where each horseman threw down his burden. They immediately returned at the gallop, and were so fortunate as again to break through the English, and to suffer little or no loss in

Rattle of Guinegate.

this dangerous attempt 1. Bur the English had, soon after, full revenge for the infult. Henry had received intelligence of the approach of the French horse, who had advanced to protect another incursion of Fontrailles; and he ordered some troops to pass the Lis, in order to oppose them. The cavalry of France, though they consisted chiefly of gentlemen who had

[&]quot; 23432 Hist. de Chev. Bayard, chap. 57. Memoires de Bellai.

behaved with great gallantry in many desperate ac- CHAP. tions in Italy, were, on fight of the enemy, feized XXVII. with so unaccountable a panic, that they immediately took to flight, and were pursued by the English. The duke of Longueville, who commanded the French, Bussi d'Amboise, Clermont, Imbercourt, the chevalier Bayard, and many other officers of distinction, were made prisoners. This action, or rather rout, is sometimes called the battle of Guinegate, from the place where it was fought; but more commonly the Battle of Spurs, because the French, that day, made more use of their spurs than of their fwords or military weapons.

AFTER so considerable an advantage, the king, who was at the head of a complete army of above 50,000 men, might have made incursions to the gates of Paris, and spread confusion and desolation every where. It gave Lewis great joy, when he heard that the English, instead of pushing their victory, and attacking the dismayed troops of France, returned to the siege of so inconsiderable a place as Terouane. The governors were obliged, soon after, to capitulate; and Henry found his acquisition of so little moment, though gained at the expence of fome blood, and what, in his present circumstances, was more important, of much valuable time, that he immediately demolished the fortifications. The anxieties of the French were again revived with regard to the motions of the English. The Swiss, at the same time, had entered Burgundy with a formidable army, and laid siege to Dijon, which was in no condition to resist them. Ferdinand himself, though he had made a truce with Lewis, seemed disposed to lay hold of every advantage which fortune should present to him. Scarcely ever was the French monarchy in greater danger, or less in a condition

o Memoires de Bellai, liv. i. Polydore Virgil, liv. 27. Holing. shed, p. 822. Herbert. Fif 2

15.3.

CHAP. to defend itself against those powerful armies, which on every side assailed or threatened it. Even many of the inhabitants of Paris, who believed themselves exposed to the rapacity and violence of the enemy, began to dislodge, without knowing what place could afford them greater security.

But Lewis was extricated from his present difficulties by the manifold blunders of his enemies. The Swiss allowed themselves to be seduced into a negotiation by Tremoille, governor of Burgundy; and, without making enquiry whether that nobleman had any powers to treat, they accepted of the conditions which he offered them. Tremoille, who knew that he should be disavowed by his master, stipulated whatever they were pleased to demand, and thought himself happy, at the expence of some payments and very large promiles, to get rid of fo for-

midable an enemy P.

THE measures of Henry showed equal ignorance in the art of war with that of the Swiss in negotiation. Tournay was a great and rich city, which, though it lay within the frontiers of Flanders, belonged to France, and afforded the troops of that kingdom a passage into the heart of the Netherlands. Maximilian, who was desirous of freeing his grandson from so troublesome a neighbour, advised Henry to lay siege to the place; and the English monarch, not confidering that fuch an acquisition nowise advanced his conquests in France, was so imprudent as to follow this interested counsel. The city of Tournay, by its ancient charters, being ex-- empted from the burthen of a garrison, the burghers, against the remonstrance of their sovereign, strenuously insisted on maintaining this dangerous privilege; and they engaged, by themselves, to make a vigorous defence against the enemy 4. Their cou-

Memoires du Mareschal de Fleuranges, Bellarius, lib. 14.

^{, 4} Memoires de Fleuranges.

rage failed them when matters came to trial; and CHAP. after a few days siege, the place was surrendered XXVII. to the English. The bishop of Tournay was lately dead; and, as a new bishop was already elected 24th Sept. by the chapter, but not installed in his office, the king bestowed the administration of the see on his favourite, Wolsey, and put him in immediate possession of the revenues, which were considerable. Hearing of the retreat of the Swiss, and observing the season to be far advanced, he thought proper to return to England; and he carried the greater part of his army with him. Success had attended him in every enterprise; and his youthful mind was much elated with this feeming prosperity; but all men of judgment comparing the advantages of his situation with his progress, his expence with his acquisitions, were convinced that this campaign, so much vaunted, was in reality both ruinous and inglorious to him 😘

THE success which, during this summer, had attended Henry's arms in the north, was much more decisive. The king of Scotland had assembled the whole force of his kingdom; and having passed the Tweed with a brave though a tumultuary army of above 50,000 men, he ravaged those parts of Northumberland which lay nearest that river, and he employed himself in taking the castles of Norham, Etal, Werke, Ford, and other places of small importance. Lady Ford being taken prisoner in her castle, was presented to James, and so gained on the affections of the prince, that he wasted in pleasure the critical time which, during the absence of his enemy, he should have employed in pushing his conquests. His troops, lying in a barren country, where they foon confumed all the provisions, began to be pinched with hunger; and, as the authority of the prince was feeble, and military disci-

Strype's Memorials, vol. i p 5. 6. F f 3

• Guiceiardini. pline,

CHAP. pline, during that age, extremely relaxed, many of them had stolen from the camp, and retired homewards. Meanwhile the earl of Surrey, having collected a force of 26,000 men, of which 5000 had been fext over from the king's army in France, marched to the defence of the country, and approached the Scots, who lay on some high ground near the hills of Cheviot. The river Till ran between the armies, and prevented an engagement: Surrey, therefore, sent a herald to the Scottish camp, challenging the enemy to descend into the plain of Milfield, which lay towards the fouth; and there, appointing a day for the combat, to try their valour on equal ground. As he received no satisfactory answer, he made a feint of marching towards Berwic; as if he intended to enter Scotland, to lay waste the borders, and cut, off the provisions of the enemy. The Scottish army, in order to prevent his purpose, put themselves in motion; and having set fire to the huts in which they had quartered, they descended from the hills. Surrey, taking advantage of the smoke, which was blown towards him, and which concealed his movements, passed the Till with his artillery and vanguard at the bridge of Twisel, and sent the rest of his army to seek a ford higher up the river.

An engagement was now become inevitable, and 9th Sept. both sides prepared for it with tranquillity and order'. The English divided their army into two lines: Lord Howard led the main body of the first line, sir Edmond Howard the right wing, fir Marmaduke Constable the left. The carl of Surrey, himself, commanded the main body of the second line, lord Dacres the right wing, fir Edward Stanley the left. The front of the Scots presented three divisions to the enemy: The middle was led by the king himself: The right by the earl of Huntley, assisted by

Battle of Mouden.

> Pauchanan, lib. 13. Drummond. Herbert. Polydore Virgila lib. 27. Stowe, p. 493. Laulu Jorius.

1513.

lord Hume: The left by the earls of Lenox and CHAP. Argyle. A fourth division under the earl of Both- XXVII. wel, made a body of reserve. Huntley began the battle; and after a sharp conflict put to slight the left wing of the English, and chased them off the field: But, on returning from the pursuit, he found the whole Scottish army in great disorder. The division under Lenox and Argyle, elated with the fuccess of the other wing, had broken their ranks, and, notwithstanding the remonstrances and entreaties of La Motte, the French ambassador, had rushed headlong upon the enemy. Not only sir Edmond Howard, at the head of his division, received them with great valour; but Dacres, who commanded in the second line, wheeling about during the action, fell upon their rear, and put them to the fword without resistance. The division under James, and that under Bothwel, animated by the valour of their leaders, still made head against the English, and throwing themselves into a circle, protracted the action, till night reparated the combatants. The victory feemed yet undecided, and the numbers that fell on each fide were nearly equal, amounting to above 5000 men: But the morning discovered where the advantage lay. The English' had lost only persons of small note; but the flower of the Scottish nobility had fallen in battle, and their king himself, after the most diligent enquiry, could no where be found. In fearthing the field, the English met with a dead body which resembled him, and was arrayed in a' fimilar habit; and they put it in a leaden coffin and fent it to London. During some time it was kept unburied; because James died under sentence of excommunication, on account of his confederacy with France, and his opposition to the holy see ": But, upon Henry's application, who pretended that this prince had, in

Buchanan, lib. 13. Herbert.

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CHAP. the instant before his death, discovered signs of repentance, absolution was given him, and his body was interred. The Scots, however, still afferted that it was not James's body which was found on the field of battle, but that of one Elphinston, who had been arrayed in arms resembling their king's, in order to divide the attention of the English, and share the danger with his master. It was believed that James had been seen crossing the Tweed at Kelso; and some imagined that he had been killed by the vassals of lord Hume, whom that nobleman had instigated to commit so enormous a crime. But the populace entertained the opinion that he was still alive, and, having fecretly gone in pilgrimage to the Holy Land, would foon return and take possession of the throne. This fond conceit was long entertained among the Scots.

THE king of Scotland and most of his chief nobles being slain in the field of Flouden, so this battle was called, an inviting opportunity was offered to Henry of gaining advantages over that kingdom, perhaps of reducing it to subjection. But he discovered, on this occasion, a mind truly great and generous. When the queen of Scotland, Margaret, who was created regent during the infancy of her son, applied for peace, he readily granted it; and took compassion of the helpless condition of his sister and nephew. The earl of Surrey, who had gained him so great a victory, was restored to the title of duke of Norfolk, which had been forfeited by his father for engaging on the side of Richard III. Lord Howard was honoured with the title of earl of Surrey. 'Sir Charles Brandon the king's favourite, whom he had before created viscount Lisle, was now raised to the dignity of duke of Susfolk. Wolsey, who was both his favourite and his minister, was created bishop of Lincoln. Lord Herbert obtained the title of earl of Worceker. Sir Edward Stanley mat of lord Monteagle. •

3514.

THOUGH

1514.

When

Though peace with Scotland gave Henry secu- CHAP. rity on that side, and enabled him to prosecute, in XXVII. tranquillity, his enterprise against France, some other incidents had happened, which more than counterbalanced this fortunate event, and served to open his eyes with regard to the rashness of an undertaking into which his youth and high fortune had betrayed him.

Lewis, fully fensible of the dangerous situation to which his kingdom had been reduced during the former campaign was resolved, by every expedient, to prevent the return of like perils, and to break the contederacy of his enemies. The pope was nowise disposed to push the French to extremity; and, provided they did not return to take possession of Milan, his interests rather led him to preserve the balance among the contending parties. He accepted, therefore, of Lewis's offer to renounce the council of Lyons; and he took off the excommunication which his predecessor and himself had fulminated against that king and his kingdom. Ferdinand was now fast declining in years; and as he entertained no farther ambition than that of keeping possession of Navarre, which he had subdued by his arms and policy, he readily hearkened to the proposals of Lewis for prolonging the truce another year; and he even shewed an inclination of forming a more intimate connexion with that monarch. Lewis had dropped hints of his intention to marry his second daughter Renée, either to Charles, prince of Spain, or his brother Ferdinand, both of them grandsons of the Spanish monarch; and he declared his resolution of bestowing on her, as her portion, his claim to the dutchy of Milan. Ferdinand not only embraced these proposals with joy; but also engaged the emperor, Maximilian, in the same views, and procured his accession to a treaty, which opened so inviting a prospect of aggrandising their common grandchildrent.

XXVII.

When Henry was informed of Ferdinand's tenewal of the truce with Lewis, he fell into a violent rage, and loudly complained, that his father-in-law had fift, by high promises and professions, engaged him in enmity with France, and afterwards, without giving him the least warning, had now again sacrificed his interests to his own selfish purposes, and had left him exposed alone to all the danger and expence of the war. In proportion to his eafy credulity, and his unsuspecting reliance on Ferdinand, was the vehemence with which he exclaimed against the treatment which he met with; and he threatened revenge for this egregious treachery and breach of faith w. But he lost all patience when informed of the other negotiation by which Maximilian was also seduced from his alliance, and in which proposals had been agreed to, for the marriage of the prince of Spain with the daughter of France. Charles, during the lifetime of the late king, had been assanced to Mary, Henry's younger sister; and, as the prince now approached the age of pu-' berty, the king had expected the immediate complotion of the marriage, and the honourable settlement of a sister, for whom he had entertained a tender assection. Such a complication, therefore, of injuries gave him the highest displeasure, and inspired him with a desire of expressing his disdain towards those who had imposed on his youth and inexperience, and had abused his too great facility.

The duke of Longueville, who had been made prisoner at the battle of Guinegate, and who was still detained in England, was ready to take advantage of all these dispositions of Henry, in order to procure a peace, and even an alliance, which he knew to be passionately desired by his master. He represented to the king that Anne, queen of France, being lately dead, a door was thereby opened for

^{*} Fetrus de Angleria, Épist 545, 746.

XXVII.

1514.

an affinity which might tend to the advantage of CHAF both kingdoms, and which would ferve to terminate honourably all the differences between them: That she had left Lewis no male children; and as he had ever entertained a strong desire of having heirs to the crown, no marriage seemed more suitable to him than that with the princess of England, whose youth and beauty afforded the most flattering hopes in that particular: That, though the marriage of a princess of sixteen with a king of sitty-three might secm unsuitable, yet the other advantages attending the alliance were more than a sufficient compensation for this inequality: And that Henry, in loofening his connexions with Spain, from which he had never reaped any advantage, would contract a close affinity with Lewis, a prince who, through his whole life, had invariably maintained the charac-

ter of probity and honour. As Henry seemed to hearken to this discourse with willing ears, Longueville informed his master of the probability which he difcovered of bringing the matter to a happy conclusion; and he received full powers for negotiating the treaty. The articles were easily adjusted between the monarchs. Lewis Peacewith agreed that Tournay should remain in the hands of France the English; that Richard de la Pole should be banished to Metz, there to live on a pension assigned him by Lewis; that Henry should receive payment of a million of crowns, being the arrears due by treaty to his father and himself; and that the princess Mary should bring four hundred thousand crowns as her portion, and enjoy as large a jointure as any queen of France, even the former, who was heires of Britanny. The two princes also agreed on the fuccours with which they should mutually supply each other, in case either of them were attacked by an enemy*.

CHAP. XXVII. 1514. 4th. Oct.

In consequence of this treaty, Mary was sent over to France with a splendid retinue, and Lewis met her at Abbeville, where the espousals were celebrated. He was enchanted with the beauty, grace, and numerous accomplishments of the young princess; and, being naturally of an amorous disposition, which his advanced age had not entirely cooled, he was seduced into such a course of gaiety and pleasure, as proved very unsuitable to his declining state of health. He died in less than three months after the marriage, to the extreme regret of the French nation, who, sensible of his tender concern for their welfare, gave him, with one voice, the honourable appellation of father of his people.

1515. 3st Jan.

> Francis, duke of Angouleme, a youth of one and twenty, who had married Lewis's eldest daughter, succeeded him on the throne; and, by his activity, valour, generosity, and other virtues, gave prognostics of a happy and glorious reign. This young monarch had been extremely struck with the charms of the English princess; and, even during his predecessors life-time, had paid her such assiduous court, as made some of his friends apprehend that he had entertained views of gallantry towards Her. But being warned that, by indulging this passion, he might probably exclude himself from the throne, he forbore all farther addresses; and even watched the young downger with a very careful eye during the first months of her widowhood. Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, was, at that time, in the court of France, the most comely personage of his time, and the most accomplished in all the exercifes which were then thought to befit a courtier and a soldier. He was Henry's chief favourite; and that monarch had even once entertained thoughts of marrying him to his fifter, and had given indulgence to the mutual passion which took place be-

Brantome Eloge de Louis XII.

1515.

tween them. The queen asked Suffolk, whether CHAP. he had now the courage, without farther reflection, XXVII. to espouse her? And she told him, that her brother would more eafily forgive him for not asking his consent, than for acting contrary to his orders. Suffolk declined not so inviting an offer; and their nuptials were fecretly celebrated at Paris. Francis, who was pleased with this marriage, as it prevented Henry from forming any powerful alliance by means of his fifter z, interposed his good offices in appeasing him: And even Wolsey, having entertained no jealousy of Suffolk, who was content to participate in the king's pleasures, and had no ambition to engage in public business, was active inreconciling the king to his fifter and brother-inlaw; and he obtained them permission to return to England.

2 Petrus de Angleria, Epist. 544.

NOTES

TO THE

THIRD VOLUME.

. NOTE [A], p. 4.

In the fifth year of the king the commons omplained of the government about the king's person, his court, the excessive number of his servants, of the abuses in the Chancery, King's Bench, Common'Pleas, Exchequer, and of grievous oppressions in the country, by the great multitudes of maintainers of quarreis (men linked in confederacies together), who behaved themselves like kings in the country, so as there was very little law or right, and of the other things which they said were the cause of the late commotions under Wat Tyler. Parl. Hist. vol. i. p. 365. This irregular government, which no king and no house of commons had been able to remedy, was the source of the licentiousness of the great, and turbulency of the people, as well as tyranny of the princes. If subjects would enjoy liberty, and kings security, the laws must be executed.

In the ninth of this reign the commons also discovered an accuracy and a jealousy of liberty which we should little expect in those rude times. "It was agreed by parliament," says Cotton, p. 309, "that the subsidy of wools, wool fells, and skins, granted to the king until the time of Midfummer then ensuing, should cease from the same time unto the seast of St. Peter ad vincula; for that thereby the king should be interrupted for claiming such grant as

" due." See also Cotton, p. 198.

, NOTE,[B], p. 16.

KNYGHTON, p. 2715, &c. The same author, p. 2860, tells us, that the king, in return to the message, said, that he would not, for their desire, remove the meanest scullion

scullion from his kitchen. This author also tells us, that the king said to the commissioners, when they harangued him, that he saw his subjects were rebellious, and his best way would be to call in the king of France to his aid. But it is plain that all these speeches were either intended by Knyghton merely as an ornament to his history, or are false. For (1) When the five lords accuse the king's ministers in the next parliament, and impute to them every rash action of the king, they speak nothing of these replies which are so obnoxious, were so recent, and are pretended to have been so public. (2) The king, so far from having any connexions at that time with France, was threatened with a dangerous invalion from that kingdom. This story scems to have been taken from the reproaches afterwards thrown out against him, and to have been transferred by the historians to this time, to which they cannot be applied.

NOTE [C], p. 21.

WE must except the 12th article, which accuses Brembre of having cut off the heads of twenty-two prisoners, confined for felony or debt, without warrant or process of law. But, as it is not conceivable what interest Brembre could have to treat these felons and debtors in such a manner, we may presume that the fact is either false, or misrepresented. It was in these mens power to say any thing against the persons accused: No desence or apology was admitted: All was lawless will and pleasure.

They are also accused of designs to murder the lords: But these accusations either are general, or destroy one another. Sometimes, as in article 15th, they intend to murder them by means of the mayor and city of London: Sometimes, as in article 28th, by trial and false inquests: Sometimes, as in article 28th, by means of the king of France, who was to receive Calais for his pains.

NOTE [D], p. 23.

N general, the pailiament in those days never haid a proer regard to Edward's statute of treasons, though one of the most advantageous laws for the subject that has ever been enacted. In the 17th of the king, the dukes of Lancaster and Glocester

Glosester complain to Richard that sir Thomas Talbot, with others of his adherents, conspired the death of the said dukes in divers parts of Cheshire, as the same was confessed and well known; and praying that the parliament may judge of the fault. Whereupon the king and the fords in the purliament judged the same fact to be open and high treason: And hereupon they award two writs, the one to the sheriff of York, and the other to the sheriffs of Derby, to take the body of the Said fir Thomas, returnable in the King's Bench in the month of Easter then ensuing. And open proclamation was made in Westminster hall, that upon the sheriff's return, and at the next coming in of the said sir Thomas, the said Thomas should be convicted of treason, and incur the loss and pain of the same: And all such as should receive him after the proclamation, should incur the same loss and pain. Cotton, p. 354. It is to be observed, that this extaordinary judgment was passed in a time of tranquillity. Though the statute itself of Edward III. reserves a power to the parliament to declare any new species of treason, is not to be. supposed that this power was reserved to the house of lords alone, or that men were to be judged by a law ex post facto. At least, if such he the meaning of the clause, it may be affirmed that men were at that time very ignorant of the first principles of law and justice.

• NOTE [E], p. 30.

IN the preceding parliament the commons had shewn a disposition very complaisant to the king; yet there happened an incident in their proceedings which is curious, and shews us the state of the house during that period. The members were either country gentlemen or merchants, who were afsembled for a few days, and were entirely unacquainted with business; so that it was easy to lead them astray, and draw them into votes and resolutions very different from their in-Some petitions concerning the state of the nation were voted; in which, among other things, the house recommended frugality to the king; and for that purpose desired that the court should not be so much frequented as formerly by bishops and ladies. The king was displeased with this freedom: The commons very humbly craved pardon: He'. was not satisfied upless they would name the mover of the petitions. It happened to be one Haxey, whom the parliant Gg : Vol. III.

ment, in order to make atonement, condemned for this offence to die the death of a traitor. But the king, at the desire of the archbishop of Canterbury and the prelates, pardoned him. When a parliament in those times, not agitated by any faction, and being 2t entire freedom, could be guilty of such monstruous extravagance, it is easy to judge what might be expected from them in more trying situations. See Cotton's Abridg. p. 361, 362.

NOTE [F], p. 43.

TO show how little credit is to be given to this charge against Richard, we may observe, that a law, in the 13 Edw. III. had been enacted against the continuance of sheriffs for more than one year: But the inconvenience of changes having afterwards appeared from experience, the commons, in the twentieth of this king, applied by retition, that the sheriffs might be continued; though that petition had not been enacted into a statute, by reason of other disagreeable circumstances which attended it. Sce Cotton, p. 361. It was certainly a very moderate exercise of the dispensing power in the king to continue the sherists, after he found that that practice would be acceptable to his subjects, and had been applied for by one house of parliament: Yet is this made an article of charge against him by the present parliament. See art. 13. Walsingham, speaking of a period early in Richarl's minority, fays, But what do acts of parliament fignify, when after they are made they take no effect; since the king, by the advice of the privy council, takes upon lyse to alter, or wholly fet aside all those things which by general consent had been ordained in parliament? If Richard therefore, exercised the dispensing power, he was warranted by the examples of his uncles and grandfather, and, indeed, of all his predecessors from the time of Henry III. inclusive.

NOTE [G], p. 52.

THE following passage in Cotton's Abridgement, p. 106, shows a strange prejudice against the church and churchmen: The commons afterwards coming into the parliament, and making their protestation, shewed, that for want of good redress about the king's person, in his household, in all his courts, touching maintainers in every county, and purveyors, the commons were daily pilled, and nothing defended against the enemy, and that it should shortly deprive the king, and undo the State. Wherefore, in the same government they entirely require redress. Whereupon the king appointed fundry bishops, lords, and nobles, to fit in privy-council about these matters: Who, fince that they must begin at the head, and go at the request of the commons, they, in the presence of the king, charged his confessior not to come into the court but upon the four principal festivals. We should little expect that a populh privy-council, in order to preserve the king's morals, should order his confessor to be kept at a distance from him. This incident happened in the minority of Richard. As the popes had for a long time resided at Avignon, and the majority of the facred college were. Frenchmen, this circumstance naturally increased the aversion of the nation to the papal power: But the prejudice against the English clergy cannot be accounted for from that cause.

NOTE [H], p. 223. ·

THAT we may judge how arbitrary a court that of the constable of England was, we may peruse the patent granted to the earl of Rivers in this reign, as it is to be found in Spellman's Glossary in verb. Constabiliarius; as also, more sully in Rymer, vol. xi. p. 581. Here is a clause of it: Et ulterius de uberiori gratia nostra eidem comiti de Rivers plenam potestatem damus ad cognoscendum & procedendum, in omnibus & singulis causis & negotiis, de et super crimine lesæ majestatis seu super occasione cæterisque causis, quibuscunque per præsatum comitem de Rivers, ut constabularium Angliæ—quæ in curia constabularii Angliæ ab antiquo, viz. tempore dicti domini Gulielme conquestoris, seu aliquo textopore citra tracturi, audiri, examinari, aut decidi consueverant, aut jure debuerant, aut debent, causasquè et negotia prædicta

cum omnibus et singulis emergentibus, incidentibus & connexis, audierdum, examinandum, et sine debito terminandum, etiam summarie et de plano, sine strepitu et figura justitiæ, sola facti veritate inspecta, ac etiam manu regia, si opportunum visum suerit eidem comiti de Rivers, vices nostrus, appellatione remota. The office of constable was perpetual in the monarchy; its jurisdiction was not limited to times of war, as appears from this patent, and as we learn from Spellman: Yet its authority was in direct contradiction to Magna Charta; and it is evident that no regular liberty could subfift with it. It involved a full dictatorial power continually subsisting in the state. The only check on the crown, besides the want of force to support all its prerogatives, was, that the office of constable was commonly either hereditary or during life; and the person invested with it was, for that reason, not so proper an instrument of arbitrary power in the king. Accordingly the office was suppressed by Henry VIII. the most arbitrary of all the English princes. The practice, however, of exercising martial law still subsisted; and was not abolished till the Petition of Right under Charles I. This was the epoch of true liberty, confirmed by the Restoration, and enlarged and secured by the Revolution.

NOTE [1], p. 234.

WE shall give an instance: Almost all the historians, even Comines, and the continuator of the annals of Croyland, affert that Edward was about this time taken prisoner by Clarence and Warwie, and was committed to the custody of the archbishop of York, brother to the earl; but being allowed to take the diversion of hunting by this prelate, he made his escape, and afterwards chased the rebels out of the kingdom. But that all the story is false, appears from Rymer, where we find that the king, throughout all this period, continually exercised his authority, and never was interrupted in his government. On the 7th of March 1470 he gives a commission of array to Clarence, whom he then imagined a good subject; and on the 23d of the fame month we find him issuing an order for appreheading him. Besides, in the king's manifesto against the duke and earl (Claus. 10. Edward IV. m. 7, 8,), where he enumerates alle their treasons, he mentions no such fact : He 6

He does not so much as accuse them of exciting young Welles's rebellion: He only fays that they exhorted him to continue in his rebellion. We may judge how smaller facts will be misrepresented by historians, who can in the most material transactions mistake so grossly. There may even some doubt arise with regard to the proposal of marriage made to Bona of Savoy; though almost all the historians concur in it, and the fact be very likely in idelf: For there are no traces in Rymer of any such embassy of Warwic's to France. The chief certainty in this and the preceding reign arises either from public records, or from the notice taken of certain passages by the French historians. On the contrary, for some centuries after the conquest the French history is not complete without the assistance of English authors. We may conjecture, that the reason of the scarcity of historians during this period was the destruction of the convents, which ensued so soon after: Copies of the more recent historians not being yet sufficiently dispersed, these histories have perished.

NOTE [K], p. 274.

SIR Thomas More, who has been followed, or rather transcribed; by all the historians of this short reign, says, that Jane Shore had fallen into connections with lord Hastings; and this account agrees best with the course of the events: But in a proclamation of Richard's, to be found, in Rymer, vol. xii. p. 204 the marquis of Dortet is reproached with these connections. This peroach, however, might have been invented by Richard, or sounded only on popular rumour; and is not sufficient to overbalance the authority of fir Thomas More. The proclamation is remarkable for the hypocritical purity of manners affected by Richard: This bloody and treacherous tyrant upbraids the marquis and others with their gallantries and intrigues as the niost tesrible enormities.

NOTE [L], p. 297.

EVERY one that has perused the ancient monkish writers knows, that however barbarous their own style, they are sull of allusions to the Latin classics, especially she poets.

There feems also, in those middle ages, to have remained many ancient books that are now lost. Malmesbury, who flourished in the reign of Henry I. and king Stephen, quotes Livy's description of Cæsar's passage over the Rubicon. Fitz-Stephen, who lived in the reign of Henry II. alludes to a passage in the larger history of Sallust. In the collection of letters, which passes under the name of Thomas a Becker, we see how familiar all the ancient history and ancient books were to the more ingenious and more dignified churchmen of that time, and consequently how much that order of men must have surpassed all the other members of the society. That prelate and his friends call each other philosophers in all the course of their correspondence, and consider the rest of the world as sunk in total ignorance and barbarism.

NOTE [M], p. 383.

STOWE, Baker, Speed, Biondi, Hollingshed, Bacon. Some late writers, particularly Mr. Carte, have doubted whether Perkin were an impostor, and have even afferted him to be the true Plantagenet. But to refute this opinion, we need only reflect on the following particulars: (1) Though the circumstances of the wars between the two roles be, in general, involved in great obscurity, yet is there a most luminous ray thrown on all the transactions during the usurpation of Richard, and the murder of the two young princes, by the narrative of sir Thomas More, whose singular magnatismity, probity, and judgment, make him an evidence beyonn all exception! No historian, either of ancient or modein times, can possibly have more weight: He may also be justly esteemed a contemporary with regard to the murder of the two princes: For though he was but five years of age when that event happened, he lived and was educated among the chief actors during the period of Richard: And it is plain, from his narrative itself, which is often extremely circumstantial, that he had the particulars from the eve-witnesses themselves: His authority, therefore, is irresissible; and sufficient to overbalance a hundred little doubts and feruples and objections. For in reality his narrative is liable to no folid objection, nor is there any mistake detested in it. He says, indeed, that the protector's

protector's partifans, particularly Dr. Shaw, spread abroad rumours of Edward IV.'s pre-contract with Elizabeth Lucy; whereas it now appears from record, that the parliament afterwards declared the king's children illegitimate, on pretence of his pre-contract with lady Eleanor Talbot. But it must be remarked, that neither of these pre-contracts was ever so much as attempted to be proved: And why might not the protector's flatterers and partisans have made use sometimes of one false rumour, sometimes of another? Sir Thomas More mentions the one rumour as well as the other, and treats them both lightly, as they deferved. It is also thought incredible by Mr. Carte, that Dr. Shaw thould have been encouraged by Richard to calumniate openly his mother the dutchess of York, with whom that prince lived in good terms. But if there be any difficulty in this supposition, we need only suppose that Dr. Shaw might have concerted, in general, his fermon with the protector or his ministers, and yet have cholen himself the particular topics, and chosen them very foolishly. This appears, indeed, to have been the case, by the disgrace into which he fell afterwards, and by the protector's neglect of him. (2) If fir Thomas's quality of contempor rary be disputed with regard to the duke of Gloucester's protectorate, it cannot possibly be disputed with regard to Perkin's imposture: He was then a man, and had a full opportunity of knowing and examining and judging of the truth. In asserting that the duke of York was murdered by his uncle, he certainly afferts, in the most express terms, that Perkin who personated him was an impostor. (3) There is another great genius who has carefully treated this point of history; so great a genius as to be esteemed with justice one of the chief ornaments of the nation, and indeed one of the most sublime writers that any age or nation has produced. It is lord Bacon I mean, who has related at full length, and without the least doubt or hesitation, all the inpostures of Perkin Warbec. If it be objected, that lord Bacon was no contemporary, and that we have the same materials as he upon which to form our judgement; it must be remarked, that lord Bacon plainly composed his elaborate and exact history from many records and papers which are now lost, and that, consequently, he is always to be cited as an original historian. It were very strange, if Mr. Carte's opinion were just, that among all the papers which lord Bacon perused, he Gg4 never

never found any reason to suspect Perkin to be the true Plantagenet. There was at that time no interest in defamit.g Richard III. Bacon, besides, is a very unbiassed historian, nowise partial to Henry: We know the detail of that prince's oppressive government from him alone. may only be thought, that in summing up his character, he has laid the colours of blame more, faintly than the very facts he mentions seem to require. Let me remark, in passing, as a singularity, how much English history has been beholden to four great men, who have possessed the highest dignity in the law, More, Bacon, Clarendon, and Whitlocke. (4) But if contemporary evidence be so much fought after, there may in this case be produced the strongest and most undeniable in the world. The queen-dowager, her son the marquis of Dorset, a man of excellent understanding, sir Edward Woodville, her brother, sir Thomas St. Leger, who had married the king's fister, fir John Bourchier, sir Robert Willoughby; sir Giles Daubeney, fir Thomas Arundel, the Courtneys, the Cheyneys, the Talbots, the Stanleys, and in a word, all the partisans of the house of York, that is, the men of chief dignity in the nation; all these great persons were so assured of the murder of the two princes, that they applied to the earl of Richmond, the montal enemy of their party and family; they projected to set him on the throne, which must have been utter ruin to them if the princes were alive; and they slipulated to marry him to the princess Elizabeth, as heir to the crown, who in that case was no heir at all. Had each of those person-written the memoirs of his own times, would he not have Said that Richard murdered his nephews? Or would their pen be a better declaration than their actions of their real sentiments? (5) But we have another contemporary authority still better than even these great persons, fo much interested to know the truth: It is that of Richard himself: He projected to marry his niece, a very unusual alliance in England, in order to unite her title with his own. He knew, therefore, her title to be good: For as to the declaration of her illegitimacy, as it went upon no proof, or even pretence of proof, it was always regarded with the utmost contempt by the nation, and was considered as one of those parliamentary transactions so frequent in that period, which were scandalous in ther selves, and had no manner of authority. It was even so much despised as not to be reversed by parliament, after Henry and Elizabeth were on the

the throne. (6) We have also, as contemporary evidence, the universal established opinion of the age, both abroad and at home. This point was regarded as so uncontroyerted, that when Richard notified his accession to the court of France, that court was Iffuck with horror at his abominable parricide, in murdering both his nephews, as Philip de Comines tells us; and this sentiment went to such an unusual height, that, as we learn from the same author, the court would not make the least reply to him. (7) The fame reasons which convinced that age of the parricide still subsist, and ought to carry the most undoubted evidence to us; namely, the very circumstance of the sudden disappearance of the princes from the Tower, and their appearance no where else. Every one said, they have not escaped from their uncle, for he makes no search after them: He has not conveyed them elsewhere: For it is his business to declare so, in order to remove the imputation of murder from himself. He never would needlessly fubject him felf to the infamy and danger of being esteemed a parricide, without acquiring the security attending that crime. They were in his custody: He is answerable for them: If he gives no account of them, as he has a plain interest in their death, he must, by every rule of common sense, he regarded as the murderer. His flagrant usurpation, as well as his other treacherous and cruel actions, makes no better be expected from him. He could not fay, with Cain, that he was not his nepheros' keeper. This reasoning, which was irrefragable at the very first, became every day stronger, from Richard's continued silence, and the general and total ignorance of the place of these princes' abode. Richard's reign lasted about two years beyond this period; and surely he could not have found a better expedient for disappointing the earl of Richmond's projects, as well as justifying his own character, than the producing of his nephews. (8) If it were necessary, amidst this blaze of evidence, to produce proofs, which in any other case would have been regarded as considerable, and would have carried great validity with them, I might mention Dighton and Tyrrel's account of the murder. This last gentleman especially was not likely to subject himself to the reproach of so great a crime, by an imposture which it appears did not acquire him the favour of Henry. (9) The duke of York, being a boy of nine years of age, could not have made his escape without the assistance of some elder persons. Would it not have been their chief concern instantly to convey intelligence of so great

great an event to his mother the queen dowager, to his aunt the durchess of Burgundy, and to the other friends of the fasaily? The dutchess protected Simnel; a project which, had it been successful, must have ended in the crowning of Warwic, and the exclusion of the duke of York! This, among many other proofs, evinces that the was ignorant of the escape of that prince, which is impossible had it been real. (10) The total filence with regard to the persons who aided him in his rescape, as also with regard to the place of his abode during more than eight years, is a sufficient proof of the imposture. (11) Perkin's own account of his escape is incredible and absurd. He said that murderers were employed by his uncle to kill him and his brother: They perpetrated the crime against his brother; but took compassion on him, and allowed him to escape. This account is contained in all the historians of that age. (12) Perkin himself made a sull confession of his impossure no less than three times; once when he surrendered himself prisoner, a second time when he was set in the stocks at Cheapside and Westminster, and arthird time, which carries undoubted evidence, at the foot of the gibbet on which he was hanged. Not the least furmise that the confession had ever been procured by torture: And furely the last time he had nothing farther to fear. (13) Had not Henry been assured that Perkin was a ridiculous impostor, disavowed by the whole nation, he never would have allowed him to live an hour after he came into his power; much less would he have t yim pardoned him. His treatment of the innocent earl of Wervic, who in reality had no title to the crown, is a sufficient confirmation of this reasoning. (14) We know with certainty whence the whole impossure came, namely, from the intrigues of the dutchess of Burgundy: She had before acknowledged and supported Lambert Simnel, an avowed impostor. It is remarkable that Mr. Carte, in order to preserve the weight of the dutchess's testimony in favour of Perkin, suppresses. entirely this material fact: A strong essect of party prejudices, and this author's de-fire of blackening Henry VII. whose hereditary title to the crown was defective. (15) There never was at that time any evidence or shadow of evidence produced of Perkin's identity with Richard Plantagenet. Richard had disappeared when near nine years of age, and Perkin did not appear till he was a man. Could any one from his aspect pretend then to be fure of the identity? "Ie had got fome stories

concerning Richard's childhood, and the court of England: But all that it was necessary for a boy of nine to remark or remember, was easily suggested to him by the dutchess of Burgundy, or Frion, Henry's secretary, or by any body that had ever lived at court. It is true, many persons of note were at first deceived; but the discontents against Henry's government, and the general enthusiasm for the house of York, account sufficiently for this temporary delusion. Every body's eves were opened long before Perkin's death. (16) The circumstance of finding the two dead bodies in the reign of Charles II. is not furely indifferent. They were found in the very place which More, Bacon, and other ancient authors, had affigned as the place of interment of the young princes: The bones corresponded, by their size, to the age of the princes: The fecret and irregular place of their interment, not being in holy ground, proves that the boys had been secretly niurdered: And in the Tower no boys but those who are very nearly related to the crown can be exposed to a violefit death: If we compare all these circumstances, we shall find that the inserence is just and strong, that they were the bodies of Edward the Fifth and his brother; the very inference that was drawn at the time of the discovery.

Since the publication of this History, Mr. Walpole has published his Historic Doubts concerning Richard 111. Nothing can be a stronger proof how ingenious and agreeable that gentleman's pen is, than his being able to make an inquiry concerning a remote point of English history, an object of general conversation. The foregoing note has been enlarged on account of

that performance.

NOTE [N],.p. 397.

POT. Parl. 3 H. VII. n. 17. The preamble is remarkable, and shows the state of the nation at that time. The king, our sovereign lord, remembereth how by our unlawful maintainances, giving of liveries, signs and tokens, retainders by indentures, promises, oaths, writings, and other embraceries of his subjects, untrue de-"meanings of sheriss in making pannels, and antrue returns by taking money, by juries, &c. the policy of this nation is most subdued." It must indeed be contessed, that such a state of the country required great discreof government suit such a rude people, that may be proper in a more advanced stage of society. The establishment of the Star-chamber, or the enlargement of its power in the reign of Henry VII. might have been as wise as the abolition of it in that of Charles, I.

NOTE [O], p. 400.

THE duke of Northumberland has lately printed a household book of an old earl of that family who lived at this time: The author has been favoured with the perulal of it; and it contains many curious particulars, which mark the manners and way of living in that rude, not to fay barbarous age; as well as the prices of commodities. I have extracted a few of them from that piece, which gives a true picture of ancient manners, and is one of the most fingular monuments that English antiquity affords us: For we may be confident, however rude the strokes, that no baron's family was on a nobler or more splendid footing. The family confists of 166 persons, masters and servants: Fifty-seven strangers, are reckoned upon every day: On the whole 223. Two pence halfpenny are supposed to be the daily expence of each for meat, drink, and firing. This would make a groat of our present money: Supposing be equivalent to fourteen-pence: No great sum for a no-bleman's hower keeping; especially considering, that the chief expence of a family at that time confisted in meat and drink: For the fum allotted by the earl for his whole annual expence is 1118 pounds seventeen shillings and eight-pence; meat, drink, and firing cost 796 pounds eleven shillings and two pence, more than two thirds of the whole: In a modern family it is not above a third, p. 157, 158, 159. The whole expence of the earl's family is managed with ah exactness that is very rigid, and, if we make no allowance for ancient manners, such as may seem to border on an extreme; infomuch, that the number of pieces which must be cut out of every quarter of beef, mutton, pork, veal, nay stock-fish and salmon, are determined, and must be entered and accounted for by the different clerks appointed for that "purpose : If a servant be absect a day, his mess is struck off:. If he go on my lord's business, board wages is allowed him,

him, eight-pence a day for his journey in winter, five-pence in summer: When he stays in any place, two-pence a day are allowed him, beside the maintainance of his horse. Somewhat above a quarter of wheat is allowed for every month throughout the year; and the wheat is estimated at five shillings and eight-pence a quarter. Two hundred and fifty quarters of malt are allowed, at four shillings a quarter: Two hogsheads are to be made of a quarter; which amounts to about a bottle and a third of beer a day to each person, p. 4. and the beer will not be very strong. One hundred and nine fat beeves are to be bought at Allhallow-tide, at thirteen shillings and four-pence a piece: And twenty-four lean beeves to be bought at St. Helens at eight shillings a-piece: These are to be put into the pastures to feed; and are to serve f.om Midsummer to Michaelmas; which is consequently the only time that the family eats fresh beef: During all the rest of the year they live on salted meat, p. 5. One hundred and fixty gallons of mustard are allowed in a year; which seems indeed requisite for the salr beef, p. 18. Six bundred and forty-seven sheep are allowed, at twenty-pence a-piece; and these seem also to be all eat salted, except between Lammas and Michaelmas, p. 5. Only twenty-five hogs are allowed at two shillings a-piece; twenty eight veals at twenty-pence; forty lambs at ten-pence or a shilling, p. 7. These seem to be reserved for my lord's table, or that of the upper servants, called the knight's table. The other servants, as they eat salted meat al-. most through the whole year, and with few or no legetables, had a very bad and unhealthy diet: So that Tere cannot be any thing more erroneous than the magnificent ideas formed of the Roast Beef of Old England. We must entertain as mean an idea of its cleanliness: Only seventy ells of linen at eight-pence an ell are annually allowed for this great family: No sheets were used: This linen was made into eight table-cloths for my lord's table; and one table cloth for the knights, p. 16. This last, I suppose, was washed only once a month. Only forty shillings are allowed for washing throughout the whole year; and most of it seems expended on the linen belonging to the chapel. The drinking, however, was tolerable, namely, ten tuns and two hogheads of Gascogny wine, at the rate of sour pounds thirteen shillings and four-pence a ton, p. 6. Only ninety-, one dozen of candles for the whole year, p. 14. The family

mily rose at six in the morning, dined at ten, and supped at four in the afternoon: The gates were all shut at nine, and no farther ingress or egress permitted, p. 314. 318. My lord and lady have set on their table, for breakfast at feven o clock in the morning, a quart of beer; as much wine; two pieces of falt fills, fix red-herrings, four white ones, or a dish of sprats. In slesh days half a chyne of mutton, or a chyne of beef boiled, p. 73. 75. Mass is ordered to be faid at fix o'clock, in order fays the household-book, that all my lord's fervants may rife early, p. 170 Only twenty four fires are allowed, beside the kitchen and hall, and most of these have only a peck of coals a day allowed them, p. 99. After Lady-day no fires permitted in the rooms, except half-fires in my lord's and lady's, and lord Piercy's and the nursery, p. 101. It is to be observed that my lord kept house in Yorkshire, where there is certainly much cold weather after Lady-day, Eighty chalders of coals, at four shillings and two-pence a chalder, suffices throughout the whole year; and because coal will not burn without wood, says the kousehold-book, fixty-four loads of great wood are also allowed, at twelvepence a load, p. 22. This is a proof that grates were not then used. Here is an Article. It is devised that from henceforth no capons to be bought but only for my lord's own mess, and that the said capons shall be bought for two-pence a piece, lean, and fed in the psultry; and maffer chamberlain and the stewards be fed with capons, if there be strangers sitting with them, p. 12.2. Pigs are to be bought at three pence or a groat a piece! Oecse at the same price: Chickens at a halfpenny: Hens at two-pence, and only for the abovementioned tables. Here is another article. Item, it is thought good that no plovers, be bought at no season but only in Christmas and principal feasts, and my lord to be served therewith, and his board-end, and none other, and to be bought for a penny a-piece, or a penny halfpenny at most, p. 103. Woodcocks are to be bought at the same price. Partridges at two-pence, p. 104, 105. Pheasants a shilling; peacocks the same, p. 106. My lord keeps only twentyseven horses in his stable at his own charge: His upper servants have allowance for maintaining their own horses, p. 126. These horses are, six gentle horses as they are called, at hay and hard meat throughout the whole year. four palfreys, three hobbies and nags, three sumper horses,

Porfes, fix horses for those servants to whom my lord furnishes a horse, two sumpter horses more, and three mill horses, two for carrying the corn, and one for grinding it; whence we may infer, that mills, either water of wind mills, where then unknown; at least very rare: Besides these, there are seven great trotting horses for the chariot or waggon. He allows a peck of oats a day, besides loaves made of beans, for his principal horses; the oats at twenty pence, the beans at two shillings a quarter. The load of hay is at two shillings and eight-pence. When my lord is on a journey he carries thirty-fix horse-men along with him; together with bed and other ac-commodation, p. 157. The inns, it seems, could afford nothing tolerable. My lord passes the year in three country-seats, all in Yorkshire, Wrysel, Leckensield, and Topclyffe; but he has furniture only for one: He carries every thing along with him, beds, tables, chairs, kitchen utensils, all which we may conclude were so coarse, that they could not be spoilt by the carriage: Yet seventeen carts and one waggon suffices for the whole, p. 391. One can suffices for all his kitchen utensils, cooks beds, &c. p. 388. One remarkable circumstance is, that he has eleven priests in his house, besides seventeen persons, chanters, musicians, &c. belonging to his chapel: Yet he has only two cooks for a family of 223 persons, p. 325 *. Their meals were certainly dressed in the flovenly manner of a ship's company. It is amusing to observe the pompous and even royal style assemble by this Tartar chief: he does not give any orders though only for the right making of multard, but it is introduced with this preamble, It feemeth good to us and our council. If we consider the magnificent and elegant manner in which the Venetian and other Italian noblemen then lived, with the progress made by the Italians in literature and the fine aits, we shall not wonder that they considered the ultramountaine nations as barbarous. The Flemish also seem to have much excelled the English and even the French. Yet the earl

^{*} In another place mention is made of four cooks, p. 388. But I suppose that the two servants called, in p. 325, groom of the larder and shild of the scullery, are, in p. 388, comprehended in the number of cooks.

france, an annual pension of a groat a year to my lady of Walsingham, for her interest in Heaven; the same sum to the holy blood at Hales, p. 337. No mention is any where made of plate; but only of the hiring of pewter vessels. The servants seem all to have bought their own clothes from their wages.

END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.

